

Outi Tánczos

MEDIATED DISCOURSES

Ethnic minority media in linguistic and ethnic identity-building and
language revitalization: Comparative case studies from Finno-
Ugrian minority contexts

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by due permission of the
Faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki in lecture room IV, Metsätalo,
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ABSTRACT

The dissertation consists of six peer-reviewed articles and an introduction that presents the background, objectives and results of the study. The thesis investigates the issues of representations of languages and ethnicities and division of power and responsibility in terms of language maintenance. The study takes a comparative perspective and analyzes material from several languages, most notably Karelian in the Republic of Karelia in Russia, but also Hungarian in Transylvania and Veps in Russia. The languages were chosen because of the similarities in their revival history, mainly the language political turn in the late 1980s, and the considerable differences in their societal status and ethnolinguistic vitality.

A critical discourse analytic approach is applied, combining linguistic analysis with sociolinguistic background knowledge. The data of this study consist of newspaper texts published in several minority language newspapers during the period 1998–2011 and of research interviews of two types: focus group interviews carried out in the ELDIA project (2010–2013) and individual interviews of editors-in-chief of three minority language newspapers, *Oma Mua* (Karelian), *Szabadság* (Transylvanian Hungarian) and *Kodima* (Veps).

The study contributes to the less-studied field of critical media discourse studies in Finno-Ugrian studies. It provides insight into the conventions of minority media making in different social and political contexts. The findings suggest that since the beginning of its revival in the 1990s, the primary role of the Karelian language has become transformed from an everyday means of communication to a means of ethnos-making. In the minority language newspaper, language is a central topic which functions as a symbol and component of ethnic identity. The minority rights framework is only present to a small extent, and the focus lies on tradition, culture and the role of language in these newspapers. Minority language newspapers published in Russia share many similarities. The Transylvanian Hungarian newspaper differs more clearly from these. The differences can be explained by the sociohistorical and language political context.

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My time working in the ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) project was relatively short, but all the more valuable. It took place in the very beginning of my thesis writing, and provided me with insight into the significance of a multidisciplinary approach when posing large questions on the relationship of language, ethnicity and society. The project gave me the opportunity to encounter specialists representing different fields of research, great people I am glad to have met, whose studies have been an indispensable source for me. I am also grateful for the possibility to use ELDIA interview data in my articles.

Another international network that directed me towards minority sociolinguistics was the POGA research network, for which I worked as a coordinator before I started writing this thesis. I would like to express my gratitude to all those who participated in our events for the inspiration they have given me, and especially to Janne Saarikivi and **Reetta Toivanen** for asking me to join the network and looking on me as their equal.

I have written this thesis while working in two research projects funded by the Academy of Finland, *MinorEuRus* and *Multilingual practices in Finno-Ugric communities*. These relatively long working periods have enabled me to concentrate on my thesis. I thank the Academy and the heads of the projects for these opportunities.

The seeds of curiosity and interest towards Karelian and Hungarian, as well as minority languages in general, were sown a long time ago by teachers and fellow students in Helsinki and Budapest. They are too numerous to be named here, but I think of them all with great respect. My articles have been read by anonymous reviewers, experts in the topic, from whom I have received valuable feedback. Through my supervisors and colleagues I have also had the opportunity to discuss my work with other specialists, to whom I am very grateful. I would especially like to thank **Anne Mäntynen** for her advice on methodological choices as well as article writing. I also thank all those people who have somehow participated in this study, interview participants and others, for their invaluable contribution.

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In the thesis process, I have walked side by side with fellow doctoral candidate **Ulriikka Puura**, a warmhearted friend and an uncompromising researcher. The moments spent with her have deepened my knowledge of nearly everything imaginable. Whenever in doubt, Ulriikka and **Lotta Jalava** – fellow researcher, friend and mentor – have restored my self-confidence and inspiration with good humor and a sense of proportion.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Scholars have started to pay more and more attention to the diversity of multilingualism and plurilingualism. In the European Union one of the aims of nationality politics is to increase the visibility of regional or minority languages and general awareness of language rights. In European liberal discourse, multilingualism is generally considered beneficial for the individual (Blommaert et al. 2012: 1). The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages¹ has laid the foundations for a common European minority language policy. One of the aims of nationality politics in the European Union is to increase the visibility of regional or minority languages and general awareness about language rights. Increasing migration has made multilingualism a central topic in terms of L2 learning and the maintenance of migrant languages (Vihman & Barkhoff 2013: 8–9). However, in language policies multilingualism has mostly been understood as the possibility to learn and employ foreign languages, not least for professional and economic purposes. In the past, less attention has been paid to minority languages producing multilingualism, or multilingual practices in everyday lives (cf. Laakso 2014: 40–43). In the past, Europe has been dominated by monolingual ideologies that spread effectively together with nationalism and nation states (cf. Laakso et al. 2016, Saarikivi & Toivanen 2015, Toivanen & Saarikivi 2016). The Herderian idea of nations being defined by the language they speak has had an immense influence in the formation nation states and national languages (Vihman & Barkhoff 2013: 3–4). Recently, European policies have started to take into account and value various forms of plurilingualism (Saarikivi & Toivanen 2015), but their implementation varies greatly in different member states (Vihman & Barkhoff 2013: 9–10).

There has been a constant discrepancy between the monolingual ideology and the European communities actually living in a multilingual environment, most typically language minorities. Speakers of minority languages live in societies governed by language ideologies that mostly cater for the majority. There is hence a need to redefine the linguistic identity of speakers as well as the roles of languages. These negotiations take place in discourse both inside and outside the language community. The Council of Europe has underlined the role of minority language media in supporting multilingualism, stating that “media broadcast or printed in a regional or minority language are playing a growing role in the survival of languages” (COE 1/2018).

In this thesis I analyze media discourses on languages and language maintenance. The goal is to gain an understanding of what kinds of changes and development are taking place in language practices, language use and

¹ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680695175> (18.2.2018).

language ideologies. The analysis sheds light on power structures that regulate the development. Throughout the thesis I aim at connecting my findings with results from other minority language contexts, adding to information on linguistic behavior in minority situations

This dissertation consists of an introduction and six articles that approach shared thematics from different angles or through different data. The main points of interest are representations of language and the progress of the revitalization or maintenance processes in minority language discourses. Language cases in this study include Karelian, Veps in Russia and Hungarian in Romania, with reference to Udmurt and Russian (see 1.2.1.).

The thesis includes the following peer-reviewed articles:

Article 1

Tánczos, Outi 2014: A kisebbségi nyelvi identitás kifejezései orosz-karjalai, udmurt és erdélyi magyar újságokban. – Mária Lada´nyi & Zsuzsa Vlada´r & Éva Hrenek (eds.), *Nyelv, társadalom, kultúra: interkultúra´lis é´s multikultúra´lis perspekti´va´k* I-II.: A XXIII. Magyar Alkalmazott Nyelve´szeti Kongresszus (ELTE BTK Budapest, 2013. ma´rcius 26–28.) elo´ada´sai bo´l ke´szu´lt tanulma´nyko¨tet. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiado´. 625–630.

The first article briefly describes the differences in representation of the minority language and its speakers in three newspapers in different sociolinguistic contexts. The minority language media investigated are Transylvanian Hungarian, Karelian and Udmurt. The role of language is particularly in focus.

Article 2

Tánczos, Outi 2015: Representations of Karelians and the Karelian language in Karelian and Russian local newspapers. – *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 6 (1): 91–110.

This article analyzes representations of Karelian language and the Karelians in minority language newspapers and in two Russian-language local newspapers. The aim is to detect relevant differences and identify underlying ideologies in the discourses.

Article 3

Puura, Ulriikka & Tánczos, Outi 2016: Division of responsibility in Karelian and Veps language revitalization discourse. – Reetta Toivanen & Janne Saarikivi (eds.), *Linguistic genocide or superdiversity? New and old language diversities*. Bristol; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters. 299–325.

The third article, co-authored with Ulriikka Puura, takes a comparative approach to discourses on responsibility among Karelian and Veps speakers.

The comparison is taken further by contrasting sociolinguistic interview data with minority language media data.

Article 4

Tánczos, Outi 2017: Active and backgrounded agency concerning language maintenance in Karelian minority media texts. – *Folia Uralica Debrececiensia* 24: 233–258.

In this article certain linguistic features (active and backgrounded agency) in newspaper texts are analyzed in order to clarify representations of responsibility concerning language maintenance.

Article 5

Tánczos, Outi 2018: Multilingual practices and speaker attitudes: The case of Olonets Karelian. – Outi Tánczos & Magdolna Kovács & Ulriikka Puura (eds.), *Multilingual practices in Finno-Ugric communities*. Uralica Helsinkiensia 13. Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society. 297–326.

Article 5 focuses on speaker attitudes and language ideologies by analyzing speakers' reactions to elements of other languages than Karelian in an interview setting. It emphasizes the presence of many languages in the lives of contemporary Karelian speakers.

Article 6

Tánczos, Outi (submitted): Vähemmistökielisten sanomalehtien tehtäviä niiden päätoimittajien kuvaamina. – Pekka Suutari (ed.) *Karjalankieliset rajalla*.

Article 6 complements the media discourse analyses. The editors-in-chief of three minority language (Karelian, Veps and Hungarian) newspapers are interviewed concerning the functions of minority media. The interview data is connected with the results of earlier articles and analyzed in the framework of ethnic minority media studies.

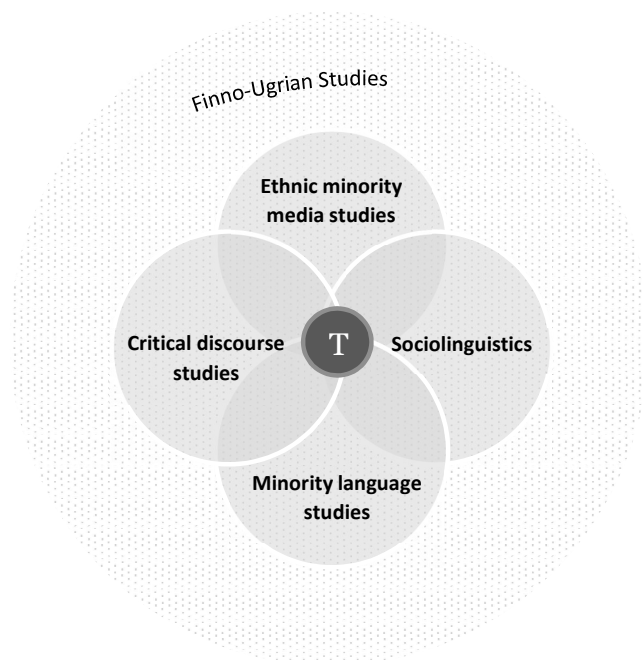
The articles are summarized and discussed in chapter 5. They are independent of each other, but deal with common topics, which are discussed in detail in the introduction part of the thesis.

1.1. BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

This thesis is located in the field of critical sociolinguistics (e.g. Heller et al. 2018), meaning that the questions that I investigate are connected with the linguistic dimensions of power and (in)equality in society. The approach is qualitative in character. My analysis investigates discourses in newspaper texts as well as interviews (see chapter 4), which is why I have chosen a critical discourse analysis approach. The thesis is also anchored in minority language

studies particularly in terms of revitalization and language maintenance. The relation of the thesis to various fields of study is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Relation of the thesis (T) to fields of study



With the exception of the state languages Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian, Finno-Ugric language communities typically manifest various forms of multilingualism and multilingual practices. During the past two decades the interest of researchers in Finno-Ugrian studies in these issues has significantly increased, resulting in publications and research projects² with a holistic view. This thesis approaches these issues through minority media discourse studies. Its location in the minority linguistics framework makes it different from many other discourse analytic studies which analyze majority or state languages. The approach taken derives from applied linguistics. It is problem-driven, and the issues in this study are very much tied with questions of language maintenance and revitalization, everyday multilingualism, and linguistic rights. The thesis relies on the constructionist view of language, regarding language as a social phenomenon (Wodak 2001: 6) and paying attention to what we do with language rather than language as a system, which has been the prevailing approach in Finno-Ugrian studies until recently.

² Most notably the *ELDIA* (<http://www.eldia-project.org>), *MinorEuRus* (<http://blogs.helsinki.fi/minor-eurus>) and *Multilingual practices in Finno-Ugric communities* projects.

This study focuses on discourses concerning minority languages, their roles in society and their future, particularly regarding language revitalization and maintenance (see section 1.2.). The way in which people speak of languages, the roles they give them, and the kind of life and people they connect them with, influences their ideas of their worth and vitality. This, in turn, has an impact on language use and ultimately on the success or failure of language maintenance.

Finno-Ugric minority languages in Russia still represent an under-researched field in sociolinguistics. Focusing on them may offer valuable insight into the processes of identity construction in an era when ideas about multiple and shifting identities are spreading and will eventually meet the identity building projects that rely on classical models of national identity and language (cf. Blommaert et al. 2012). Despite the historical genetic affinity between Finno-Ugric languages, linguistic affinity does not bear great relevance in this study due to the nature of my research questions. The Finnic framework, however, has significance in the Republic of Karelia and in transborder connections with Finland (see section 2.2.) and thus has significance for the language community in question.

1.2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main aim of the study is to analyze and interpret language-related discourses in minority language newspaper data and contemplate their relation to the sociolinguistic situation of the language in question. The thesis thus provides a written dimension to the sociolinguistic study of Finno-Ugric minority languages. Writing has been regarded as a nearly separate, parallel form of language (Blommaert 2013). However, in the sociolinguistic situation of Karelian and Veps especially, the written standard is likely to play a considerable role in the development of the vernacular as well. In the world where writing and reading is becoming an increasingly essential mode of language use, Blommaert (ibid.) urges sociolinguists to turn their attention to writing as well. Although news and article writing is a very distinctive genre, many sociolinguistically interesting phenomena brought up by Blommaert (ibid. 447, cf. also Edygarova 2016, Toivanen & Saarikivi 2016), such as the use or avoidance of code-switching and vernacular, can be detected in media data.

1.2.1. COMPARATIVE APPROACH

I have chosen a comparative approach and I focus on three different linguistic situations. The focus is on the Karelian language in Russia. Other languages, most notably Hungarian in Transylvania, but also Veps and to a small extent Udmurt and Russian, are included in the articles for different aspects of comparison (Figure 2, see also chapter 4). I aim to identify similarities and regularities that may be viewed in a larger context. However, all three cases

are different and unique, and I attempt to point this out when necessary. Their numerous subtle and fundamental differences render it pointless to carry out an analysis of certain previously specified features. Instead, I attempt a more holistic view of the tendencies and developments in different contexts. This holistic goal is also visible in data triangulation (for inclusion of different data types, see chapter 4) and investigator triangulation in article 3 (Eskola & Suoranta 1998: 71) which together provide a broader perspective.

Karelian and Veps are rather similar in terms of their sociolinguistic history as well as their status in contemporary Russia. However, the differences in their status, location and number of speakers offer grounds for interesting comparisons between them, as shown in article 3. The construction of Karelian and Veps identity and modern community has started relatively late in a shared societal context, making it possible to follow this process based on fresh data. Karelian and Veps are in a very vulnerable position. They have few speakers and their linguistic status is only weakly protected by the law (Zamyatin 2013). War, repression and rapid urbanization in the 20th century have destroyed many of the traditional speaking communities (Grünthal 2011). However, there have been revitalization attempts since the 1990s. The sociolinguistic situation of Karelian and Veps is described in section 2.2.1.

Hungarian in Romania was included in this study because it represents a very different sociolinguistic situation. It has a large speech community, one of the largest language minorities in Europe, and Hungarian has a history as a highly esteemed language that prior to WW1 was used in all spheres of life. Hungarian language and Hungarian ethnic identity closely overlap. The Hungarian language is regarded as a self-evident part of Hungarian ethnicity, as reflected in language policies and the linguistic behavior of Romanian Hungarians. The sociolinguistic situation of Hungarian in Romania is described in section 2.2.2.

All three languages are autochthonous in their region and are also considered to be similar in the sphere of European minority language policies. In article 1, which was written first, Udmurt is also included as an example of a minority language in Russia. Udmurt has a larger number of speakers than Karelian or Veps. Later, however, I decided to simplify the comparison by omitting Udmurt and concentrating only on Karelian and Veps as small autochthonous languages in the Republic of Karelia. Hungarian is also considered as a minority language with areal significance. I have discussed Udmurt media discourses in an earlier article (Tánczos 2011). For further information on the sociolinguistic situation of Udmurt, see e.g. Salánki (2007) and Shirobokova (2011). Article 2 includes a comparison of Karelian and Veps to a majority language, Russian.

1.2.2. THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study approaches issues of minority language maintenance and societal multilingualism through an analysis of language-related public discourse. The

key issues of this thesis can be outlined with the following three research questions:

Research question 1. “What is language?”, i.e. how are languages represented in minority language discourses?

The study examines how languages are represented in minority language discourses, especially in media discourses directed to minority language speakers. What role are they given in the society and as factors contributing to ethnic identity? How is the necessity of language maintenance legitimated? In answering this research question I have looked at the language ideologies implied in the discourse. Articles 1, 2, 5 and 6 focus on this research question, as illustrated in Figure 2.

Research question 2. How is responsibility for language maintenance represented?

A central point of interest is in what ways are power relations connected with languages apparent in the texts. Who is given responsibility for revitalizing or maintaining language? If there are shortcomings in the process, who is represented as responsible? Articles 3 and 4 focus particularly on research question 2.

Research question 3. What relevance may answers to questions 1 and 2 have for language maintenance?

The research questions are interconnected. Question 3 forms the baseline for all the articles, regardless of their primary focus (see Figure 2).

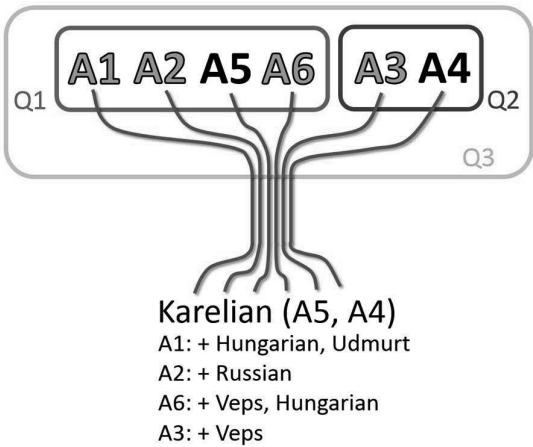


Figure 2 Relation of articles (A) to research questions (Q) and languages addressed in the articles.

1.2.3. POSITION OF THE RESEARCHER

In human and social studies applying constructivist and critical paradigms the researcher is not an outside actor but a participant, which is why reflexivity is needed, as well as examination of the researcher's position (Gould 2016: 7–8, Guba & Lincoln 1994: 109). According to no criteria can I be considered an insider in any of the communities addressed here, and I am not a native speaker of the languages addressed in this thesis. This might restrict my ability to distinguish nuances of language use³ and the social context in which the texts are situated. On the other hand, issues of multilingualism or language maintenance are not foreign to me, even though I am in the privileged position of being a native speaker of a large national language. I have close experience of Finnish-Hungarian family bilingualism and of supporting immigrant language transmission, and this has given me insights into approaching language as an object of conscious maintenance. I am also sensitive to such issues as finding opportunities for language use; heritage language learning; and of course to multilingual everyday practices as well as ideologies and attitudes governing them. I also believe that my work as a Finnish second/foreign language teacher has increased my awareness for variation, and has encouraged me to regard normative correctness as secondary to fluent communication.

I could describe myself as a well-informed outsider constantly striving to draw nearer, to gain a better understanding and perhaps the rewarding flexible position of being in-between. My line of study (analyzing mostly existing data) has not required active contact with members of these communities. An outsider position may help to exclude strong personal or ideological views, but at the same time the expertise of the outside researcher can be questioned by those inside the context. I hope that distance to the object of study has helped me to keep an open mind and given me a certain kind of insight into the sociolinguistic situation of these languages. However, the researcher should be aware that she cannot claim total objectivity or neutrality, but is always tied by her own context, culture and values (see Wodak 2014: 305). In my case, the values I have adopted in my societal context, family, education, university studies of sociolinguistics, minority language studies, etc., include, among other things, equality, democracy, individualism and pluralism. As a sociolinguistically oriented doctoral student in Finland, I am accustomed to debates on minority language rights and the relatively large role played by the state in minority language discussion and planning.

Although data play a key role in my research, my approach to data is directed by my values and by my previous knowledge, which in turn derives from other studies that also carry their embedded set of values. In critical studies, the essential idea is that different groups in a society are not treated equally. Such a premise naturally directs the researcher to search for injustice

³ If I have encountered problems in analyzing the texts, I have consulted native or non-native experts on the subject.

and flaws. The findings of this study represent my interpretation, and their acceptability is based on their internal coherence as well as on compatibility with the data and other research on the topic. The inevitable subjectivity of research of this kind may partly be balanced with recursivity, allowing the data and the research questions a dialogic relation with a chance of reformulations and modifications (Heller & Pietikäinen 2018: 3) instead of starting out from strictly determined questions and plans.

I find that, in accordance with the principles of constructivism and critical theory (cf. Guba & Lincoln 1994), the value of a study like this one is in contributing to understanding the shared discourses of minority languages in Russia and in Europe. It provides information on language ideologies and identity-making in minority language media, such as recognizing recurring discourses that are transmitted in the media and identifying their connection with the social context, values and ideologies. Hopefully, it will contribute to discussion on the topic and to making these issues better known to people producing and consuming such media (not only Hungarian, Karelian and Veps, but also others), thus facilitating the processes of introspection – in general, increasing awareness of the power and the responsibility that are immanent in discourse. Finally, such analytical inspection could result in even more fruitful language discourse, or ways of producing minority media.

With the aim of improving the accessibility of my articles also to the members of the language communities in question, I have published article 1 in Hungarian and article 6 in Finnish. In the future, I aim to increase accessibility by publishing in Russian as well.

2. CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Since this study is qualitative in nature, naming something “context” and something else “data” is somewhat forced, as these two form a whole in which the study is located. Knowledge of the context is indispensable in order to be able to approach the data, while the data and the analysis process simultaneously add to the context, filling in gaps in previous knowledge. However, in this chapter I attempt to introduce the objects of this study, minority media as well as the languages in question, relying mainly on knowledge provided by earlier studies.

2.1. MINORITY MEDIA AS AN OBJECT OF STUDY

This thesis is located in the field of media linguistics, which by definition studies the use of language in the media, and as part of the social practices of a certain group (Luginbühl 2015: 15). As such, it is also associated with minority media studies in general, a large interdisciplinary field with a wide array of study designs and methods, ranging from quantitative surveys on media consumption to micro-level linguistic analysis of a particular text or fragment. To emphasize my focus, I have applied the concept *ethnic minority media studies*, in which e.g. religious minorities have been excluded. More than a decade ago Mike Cormack (2004) argued that particularly with reference to the role of media in language maintenance, minority language media studies would benefit from being seen as a distinct area of study, although intensely connected with media studies and general minority language studies. As far as I can see, a distinct paradigm has not yet emerged.

The presence of an endangered language in the media is a central topic in research dealing with language revitalization or maintenance (for language revitalization, see e.g. Olthuis & Kivelä & Skutnabb-Kangas 2013: 20; for language maintenance, see Moring 2017: 33, Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen 2013: 4). Pasanen (2015: 137) argues that creating and taking over domains for the literary use of a minority language is an inseparable part of its modernization. The availability of minority language media is one of the factors (“Factor 5: Response to New Domains and Media”) applied by UNESCO in assessing the vitality of a certain language (UNESCO 2003).

The biased representation and the unfavorable outcomes of low visibility of language minorities in majority media have been acknowledged and verified by several studies (in the Finnish context, see e.g. Moring 2017 and Moring & Vincze 2015; on Swedish in Finnish public service media, see Pietikäinen 2000, 2003; on representations of the Sámi in the news, see Majanen 2016). Ethnic minority media and minority language media have also been studied around the world in different contexts (see e.g. Cormack & Hourigan 2007,

Cottle 2000). In Finland the main focus has been on the Swedish-language media, which has been studied mainly by Swedish-speaking Finns. Tom Moring has extensively studied the connection between minority language media and ethnolinguistic vitality and identity (e.g. Moring & Vincze 2017, Moring et al. 2011, Moring & Husband 2007). Other recent studies include Stenberg-Sirén (2018) on language ideologies in Swedish language public service radio programs. The field is becoming increasingly popular, but there are still significant gaps.

In Finno-Ugrian studies, minority media has increasingly been used as research data in both structurally and typologically orientated as well as sociolinguistic research (e.g. Janurik 2017 on code-switching, Jalava 2015 on variation and change in grammatical structures, Mantila 2010 on standardization), but there have not been many studies where the media is the direct object of research. Hungarian minority media may be considered an exception in this comparison, because they have attracted studies representing different fields and have also been placed within a larger European minority context (see e.g. Vincze 2013, Vincze & Holley 2013). South Estonian (Koreinik 2005, 2011a, 2011b) and North Sámi media (e.g. Pietikäinen & Dufva 2006, Sara 2007 and Pietikäinen 2008 on media production, Keränen 2009) have also gained quite regular attention. Media in other smaller Finno-Ugric languages had not been subject to large-scale studies before the international ELDIA project in 2010–2013, which incorporated systematic media analysis of Karelian, Veps and several other languages. However, besides Karelian and Veps, ELDIA did not include other Finno-Ugric languages in Russia. Concerning research on these languages, Shklier & Toulouze's 2001 article on the connection of Udmurt media and ethnopolitics should be mentioned. Studies with a comparative approach to the topic are even rarer. Viinikka-Kallinen's (2010) comparison of the availability of media in several Finnic minority languages, and in particular Molnár Bodrogi's (2015) article on language ideologies in Kven, Meänkieli and Csángó newspaper texts represent this trend.

In this thesis, minority language media has provided material for critical discourse analysis. In addition, one of the articles included provides views of editors-in-chief of minority language newspapers. It is intended to provide context and balance to an analysis of their products. This choice is a step towards following the complete communicative process from the author to the reader, albeit focusing on the products (Luginbühl 2015: 19–20). I introduce my data in Chapter 4.

I have since my master's thesis (Pynnönen 2009) continuously addressed issues of minority language media. A significant step that directed me toward Karelian media was my participation in the ELDIA project. I took part in designing the media discourse research manual with Reetta Toivanen, carried out media analysis for the Karelian case-specific report (Karjalainen et al. 2013) and provided recommendations for the media to support the Karelian and Veps languages.

2.2. MINORITY LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES IN THIS STUDY

I have chosen to work with case studies from three different language communities. The concepts of “language community” or “speech community” have been called into question (see e.g. Anderson 1983), for often it is merely an assumption that a particular community exists. If we start from the assumption that a community is formed based on a shared identity and a sense of belonging, this is not necessarily the case with speakers of minority languages. Identities are overlapping, changing and loose. Sometimes speakers of a certain language are not very aware of the existence of other speakers of the same language, in which case they can hardly be grouped together as a community. Despite these problems with the term, I have decided to use it in this thesis, because a community is what many language activists are trying to achieve and what is represented and (re)created in minority language discourse. One could conclude that for these activists a community exists that includes people who are not necessarily aware that they belong to it.

In the 20th century, the speakers of the languages addressed in this thesis faced assimilation policies by the Russian and Romanian states and suffered from a lack of linguistic rights. Their history is characterized by the shared socialist ideological background. The official anti-nationalist internationalist ideology prevented minorities from highlighting their specific needs, and ethnic diversity was managed within strict state control. On a practical level, nationalism was present in the hegemony of the majority ethnos and language (Prina 2016: 29–30, Verdery 1993). The language and ethnic revival that had had its first wave in the US in the 1960s and 70s (Fishman et al. 1985), reached Romania and Russia in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the change in political regime made it possible.

Karelian and Veps are cases where political, demographic and other events of recent history have had a disintegrating effect on the communities (cf. Partanen & Saarikivi 2016, Grünthal 2011, Karjalainen et al. 2013, Puura et al. 2013, Sarhimaa 1999), causing considerable challenges to language revitalization.

Table 1 *The sociolinguistic situation of Karelian and Veps minorities in Russia and the Hungarian minority in Romania*

Language minority	Geographical core area	Number of speakers (in the country)	UNESCO status⁴
Karelian in Russia ⁵	Republic of Karelia, Tver' oblast	25 600 in 2010 (declining), 2.6% in the RK	definitely endangered
Veps in Russia ⁶	Republic of Karelia, Leningrad and Vologda oblasts	3613 in 2010 (declining), 0.2% of pop. in the RK	severely endangered
Hungarian in Romania ⁷	Transylvania	1,259,914 (declining), 18% of pop. in Transylvania	not listed (not endangered)
Language minority			
Karelian in Russia ⁴	optional language classes at schools, university subject	supported by laws in the RK as an autochthonous language	
Veps in Russia ⁵	optional language classes at schools, university subject	supported by laws in the RK as an autochthonous language, status of indigenous small-numbered peoples	
Hungarian in Romania ⁸	preschool to university (limited accessibility)	provincial language (where more than 20% of population)	

As shown in Table 1, the proportion of Karelian and Veps speakers in the Republic of Karelia, not to speak of the Russian Federation as a whole, is infinitesimal. They are not dominant languages even on a local (at least above the village) level. Their use in education is sparse and although they enjoy some support by law, their visibility and usability in society are extremely restricted, as I will detail in section 2.2.1. This puts these languages in quite a different situation when compared with Hungarian, despite the shared minority position. I will outline the situation of Hungarian in Romania in section 2.2.2. For one thing, Hungarian speakers in Romania differ from the majority Romanians not only by language, but also by their Catholic/Calvinist denomination (the majority of population in Romania is Orthodox). In the

⁴ UNESCO Language Atlas.

⁵ Data from Karjalainen et al. 2013; Perepis' 2010a.

⁶ Data from Puura et al. 2013; Perepis' 2010b.

⁷ Recensământul 2011.

⁸ Gál 2010.

case of the Veps and the Karelians, a similar distinctive feature cannot be found.

Veps and Karelian speakers are divided by geographical, administrative, and demographic factors. Hungarian in Transylvania was included as a case where the community seems stable and homogenous. But this is not the whole truth, and there are large areal differences and trends of shifting identities as well as language shift, but the relative stability and first of all the typical representation of the community as solid and homogenous is what made me include Transylvanian Hungarian in this study as a point of comparison.

2.2.1. KARELIAN AND VEPS IN RUSSIA

In this chapter I give a brief overview of the sociolinguistic history and status quo of Karelian and Veps. I have decided to address them in one chapter, because several aspects of their history and development are shared. For a more detailed description, see the ELDIA case-specific reports on Karelian and Veps (Karjalainen et al. 2013, Puura et al. 2013).

Karelian and Veps are Finnic languages and form part of a dialect continuum. Some varieties of Karelian are very close to certain varieties of Finnish, and some share many features with Veps. The Karelian language is divided into two main varieties, Olonets Karelian and Karelian Proper, sometimes referred to as separate languages (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 3–4). The latter is further divided into several subvarieties. Olonets Karelian and Karelian Proper do not share a common standard language. My study deals with Olonets Karelian, which is spoken in the southern parts of the Republic of Karelia and also in Finland, though the situation of Karelian in Finland is excluded from this thesis (for a recent overview of Karelian in Finland, see Sarhimaa 2016 and 2017). Karelian had 25,600 speakers in the 2010 census in Russia (Perepis' 2010a). Most of them live in the Republic of Karelia, but there are concentrations of Karelians in the Tver', Valdaj and Tihvin areas (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 47). In the 2010 census Veps had 3,613 speakers (Perepis' 2010b). The Veps live in the Republic of Karelia, the Vologda oblast and the Leningrad oblast, where there are significant speaking areas. Veps has a literary standard that was developed in the 1990s (Puura et al. 2013: 8, 36–37).

Traditionally, the Karelians and Veps have lived in rural communities. During the 20th century their traditional way of life changed drastically, which has profoundly affected the linguistic environment. The significant decline in the number of speakers is mostly due to changes in living conditions caused by World War II and the subsequent settlement policy, bringing large numbers of speakers of other languages into the areas and putting an end to many small villages that were deemed “perspectiveless” or “without prospects” (Pasanen 2010: 101, Sarhimaa 1999, Puura et al. 2013: 15–16). In addition to this deliberate demolition of traditional village communities, living conditions in villages have worsened with growing unemployment, causing many Karelian

and Veps speakers to migrate to towns and cities. In the urban surroundings they form a small minority and lose contact with other members of the language community, which often leads to language shift. Mixed marriages are frequent and add to language shift. The demographic picture looks threatening: the majority of the ethnic Karelians and Veps and Karelian and Veps speakers are aged. The negative demographic development forms a considerable obstacle to language maintenance. Both languages are endangered and their transmission in families has ceased (Lallukka 2012: 178–189, Puura et al. 2013: 23–30, Karjalainen et al. 2013: 57).

The Karelian and Veps languages were not in literary use before the 20th century, although there were some translations of Biblical texts into Karelian in the 19th century (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 36). The formation of the Soviet Union was followed by the literacy and nativization movements of the 1920s. The reasons for creating literacy were instrumental and ideological. As Grenoble (2003: 41) puts it: “The national language was the form used to convey the message, but the content derived from the State.” This progress was cut short by the political turn and the repressions of the 1930s (Grenoble 2003: 44–50, 54). The development of Karelian was delayed in the 1920s because of the more prestigious Finnish language, which was supposed to serve as the language of literacy for the Karelians as well. When Finnish became associated with capitalist Finland, its status needed to be diminished for political reasons. In the late 1930s there was an attempt to standardize Karelian, and it was made the second official language in the republic after Russian (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 36–37). Standard Veps was also developed in the early years of the 1930s (Puura et al. 2013: 16). However, this state of affairs only lasted a few years. In the late 1930s, language policy took a sharp turn and the notorious repressions started, demolishing the national intelligentsias (Kunnas 2007: 51). After WWII, Russian was actively promoted. The 1970s and 1980s were a time of rapid Russification carried out in language and education policy, and accelerated by increasing urbanization (Sarhimaa 1996: 75–78, Karjalainen et al. 2013: 56–57, Kunnas 2007: 53–55, Puura et al. 2013: 36). In sum, Karelian and Veps was not used in the public sphere and did not have an established standard literary language before the 1990s.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the peoples of the Soviet Union experienced a national revival. Shklier and Toulouze (2001: 101) point out that in the 1990s a new “healthier” attitude to nationalism emerged in Russia, replacing the ban on all nationalism that prevailed in the Soviet era. During and after perestroika, national identity was revived especially among the titular peoples of the Soviet Union, Karelians included. However, the Karelian (and Veps) movement remained more modest in comparison with many other peoples, especially those that used to be titular nations (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 12). This can be explained by the fact that the sociolinguistic status of Karelian had been for several preceding decades much lower in comparison with some other minority languages, e.g. Udmurt: their proportion of the population was already low, and the process of standardization had only just

started. The success of revival has also been explained by local power structures and representation in politics (cf. Zamyatin 2014). Organizations representing different ethnicities were established. In the case of Karelians, these included the state-funded minority representative organ *Congress of Karelians* (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 12, Prina 2017) and the NGO *Karjalan rahvahan liitto* ‘League of the Karelian people’ (Klement’ev & Kožanov 2012: 175). *Vepsän kultur’sembr*, the ‘Veps Cultural Society’, was created in order to revive the Veps language and culture and create a shared Veps identity (Puura et al. 2013: 23, 42). According to Klement’ev (2012: 149), the most urgent tasks of the national intelligentsia concentrated around language development: creating literacy, taking the language into the educational system, the mass media, publishing, and so on. Language and culture were seen as factors which consolidated the ethnos. In the beginning of the 21st century, the activities of national organizations underwent a change. While *Karjalan rahvahan liitto* continued to critique the politics of the Republic, its criticisms had become vague and lacked proposals for action. The worsening linguistic situation was met with what Klement’ev and Kožanov call “the second wave of the Karelian movement,” the creation of several local and youth organizations based on ethnocultural rather than ethnopolitical factors (Klement’ev & Kožanov 2012: 179–180). Similar dynamics in efforts at revitalization have been noted by researchers of other minority languages as well (cf. e.g. Vedernikova 2014 on the Mari).

Despite repeated efforts by Karelian activists during the 1990s and the early 2000s, Karelian was not recognized as a state language. Karelian and Veps are supported to some extent by the State Law on the State Support of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish Languages in the Republic of Karelia (Zamyatin 2013: 138–139). In 2000, the Veps received the status of the *Indigenous Small-Numbered Peoples of the Russian Federation* and in 2006 of the *Indigenous Small-Numbered People of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation*, connecting them with the international indigenous framework. The above-mentioned statuses are meant to protect the cultures, languages and environment of indigenous peoples, and provide socioeconomic support. Their effect has only been moderately positive (Puura et al. 2013: 5–6, 39–40).

Today, the visibility of Karelian and Veps in Russian society is low. They can be taught at schools and kindergartens, but the use of these languages in education and media remains scarce. They are not used as mediums of instruction in schools (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 38–44, Puura et al. 2013: 39, Sulkala 2010: 13–14). Petrozavodsk, the capital of Karelian and Veps language development, is not a traditional center of the Karelians or the Veps. It is relatively young, founded in the beginning of the 18th century, and its inhabitants have been mostly Russians from the start (Sarhimaa 2008: 113). Therefore, the visibility of Karelian and Veps languages in Petrozavodsk does not have a historic tradition.

Linguistic practices in Russian society provide a somewhat controversial image of both wide diversity and unchallenged monolingualism. In the

multilingual and multiethnic Russian Federation, language politics are closely connected with nationality politics. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia became a multinational federation, as reflected in the legislation of that time. However, in the 21st century, Russian politics has taken a turn towards the ideal of a strong national state (Zamyatin forthcoming 2018: 4–5, Saarikivi & Toivanen 2015).

The languages of the Russian Federation have been declared equal by law, but simultaneously the Russian language is granted rights in the whole federation, and other languages only in their corresponding regions (Zamyatin forthcoming: 3–8). Zamyatin (forthcoming) highlights the symbolic nature of Russian legislation for minority languages. The official status that the titular languages of former autonomous republics have gained has not affected language use nor supported language revitalization in a significant way. The impact has remained mostly symbolic. Attempts to reinforce the position of minority languages may in practice be interpreted by the authorities as dangerous nationalism (Zamyatin forthcoming: 8).

In the 21st century, the unique status of Russian as the official language of the whole federation has been stressed, and Russian plays a central role in the construction of a shared national identity (Zamyatin forthcoming: 3–8). These changes have given grounds for fears about diminishing diversity. The Russian culture has been defined as a standard language culture (cf. Schiffman 1996), in which the position of a normative standard language is unchallenged and above any other variety (Edygarova 2016). The Russian standard language holds this prestige position (Grenoble 2003: 196). This leads to *de facto* monolingual language use in most spheres of public life despite the multilingual nature of the country. Multilingualism seen in terms of the plurality and equality of languages is poorly known among people in Russia, and many Russian speakers are totally monolingual. Approximately only one out of five people know some other language besides Russian. Moreover, the level of language skills in foreign languages is weak (Zamyatin forthcoming: 7–10). The model for multilingualism is the diglossic and asymmetric model that spread in Soviet times, in which speakers of languages other than Russian are expected to know and in public use Russian (Zamyatin forthcoming: 10).

The prevailing monolingual and standard-oriented ideologies have had an impact on minority language speakers, despite the fact that their linguistic situations as well as their needs differ sharply from the majority. Case studies (e.g. Puura 2018, Edygarova 2016, Luutonen 2014, Scheller 2011), point to members of national intelligentsias systematically avoiding the influence of the Russian language. Issues of language ideologies and especially linguistic purism are addressed in article 5.

Karelian and Veps speakers are characterized by very widespread bilingualism, in which Russian is often the dominant language. The language contact situation has very old roots and originates from the Middle Ages. Forced Russification began in the 1880s and Russification policies were carried out more or less openly throughout the next hundred years (Sarhimaa

2008: 100–101). Karelian and Veps could be described as the heritage languages of their speakers. The notion of heritage language does not imply that it would be the first-learned or best-spoken language (Laakso et al. 2016: 11–13). In the Karelian and (standard) Veps discourse the term is *Ka muamankieli Ve mamankel'* literally 'mother tongue,' but it is often used in the sense of heritage language. In vernacular Veps, *rodni kel'* (< Ru *rodnoj jazyk* 'native or heritage language') is also used.

Finnish has been a central point of reference for Karelian. Karelian and Finnish are at least partly mutually intelligible. From the national awakening in the mid 19th century until the end of WWII, Finns considered Karelian a dialect of Finnish, and this view was shared by many Karelian speakers, who encountered it in Finnish literature and education. Karelian folklore played a considerable role in the construction of the Finnish national identity and was largely understood as part of Finnish cultural heritage. Finnish has had a special role in the Republic of Karelia as a prestigious Finnic language, despite its low number of speakers in the Republic. In the 1920s the use of Finnish was strongly encouraged in public administration (Kunnas 2007: 48–50). For the Veps, Finnish has been less important with the exception of language planning and developing the standard language (cf. Zaiceva 2006).

2.2.2. HUNGARIAN IN TRANSYLVANIA

Hungarians in Romania are a historical minority whose language sociological status has been strongly influenced by political changes in the 20th century. The majority of Hungarians in Romania live in Transylvania.⁹ The most important city of Transylvania is Kolozsvár (Romanian name Cluj-Napoca), which is the base for numerous Hungarian institutions. The Hungarian language has a long historical presence in Kolozsvár.

In the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania was an economically and culturally thriving area with important towns, trade and agriculture. Its distinctiveness from the rest of Hungary was strengthened during the time of the autonomous Principality of Transylvania (1570–1711), when other parts of the Kingdom were occupied by the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. Transylvania was multiethnic, but the different ethnoses had different socioeconomic profiles. Hungarians were the ruling group and Hungarian the language of prestige (Takalo 2004: 84–87). The Hungarian cultural wealth of Transylvania was also preserved after the Principality under Habsburg rule and in Austria-Hungary, with numerous Hungarian-language institutions, such as universities, theaters, the press, etc. Hungarian was the language of public administration and increasingly from the 1880s onwards a language of education (Romsics 2005: 65–66, 84–85). After WW1 Transylvania was

⁹ The Csángós (see e.g. Laihonon & Kovács & Snellman 2015), who historically have not been a part of the Transylvanian-Hungarian literary culture or the state of Hungary, are beyond the scope of this study.

annexed to the Kingdom of Romania in the Trianon Peace Treaty of 1920 (ibid. 141). Placing 1.5 million Hungarians in a minority position after the Treaty of Trianon was a severe shock to Hungarians on both sides of the border (Vehviläinen 2004: 204).

The diverse ethnic, linguistic and religious makeup of Transylvania had led to multilingualism in everyday life, albeit in the public sphere the languages typically had their own domains. Moreover, groups other than ethnic Hungarians (mainly Jews and Roma) spoke Hungarian as their first language. After Trianon, this diversity formed a contrast with the rest of Romania, which had hitherto been fairly monoethnic (Takalo 2004: 84, Lampinen 2004: 299–301). Post-Trianon, the language policy of Romania was clearly assimilationist, leading to drastic changes in the status of Hungarian. This was reversed in the language policy of the Hungarian occupation of Northern Transylvania during WW2. After the war the national and language policy of Romania took a more tolerant tone, until it gave way to stricter assimilation policies in the 1970s (Lampinen 2004: 308–311).

In present-day Transylvania, there is a distinct connection between ethnic Hungarianness and speaking Hungarian. The number of Hungarians and Hungarian speakers has diminished over the last four decades. The drop has not been as dramatic as among the Karelians and the Veps, but the decline is still clear. The number of Hungarians had remained stable until the 1970s, when their number reached 1.7 million (Köpeczi et al. 1986: 1766). In the 1980s more than 20,000 Romanian Hungarians emigrated illegally to Hungary (Lampinen 2004: 301–311), starting a decrease in the number and proportion of Hungarians that has lasted until the latest census (2011) and is likely to continue. In the 2011 census there were 1,237,746 ethnic Hungarians in Romania. The intensity of change has varied significantly in different localities. In Kolozsvár the proportion of Hungarians has decreased radically. Whereas the proportion of Hungarians was 47.8% in 1956, in 2011 it was only 16% (Kiss & Barna 2012: 65). It has been claimed that in terms of linguistic vitality, demography (i.e. the size and “normal” age structure of the population) has counterbalanced the low status of, and weak support for, the Hungarian language (Vincze 2013: 25).

Reasons for the decrease of the Hungarian population include emigration, assimilation and low birth rate. Interethnic marriages have also had a significant impact, because bilingualism in families has not been customary (Gál 2010: 171–174, Kiss & Barna 2012: 47). The proportion of the Hungarian population varies greatly depending on the locality. Language shift takes place particularly in large cities where Hungarians are in a minority. In Kolozsvár, the Hungarians are in a diaspora situation as a local minority of 15%, whose language is endangered in the local perspective (ISPMN, Gál 2010: 170).

Due to the accelerating language shift, Hungarian linguists have paid much attention to the need for revitalization and supporting measures. One problem is the issue of which language variety to support. In many cases, only the local vernacular is under threat and not Standard Hungarian. The supporting

measures (education, media, etc.) typically rely on the Standard (Gál 2010: 181).

Hungarian is used mainly at home and in the cultural sphere (Gál 2010: 170–173, Bárdi 2011a: 536–537). The possibility of using Hungarian varies greatly in different regions. According to Romanian legislation, in administrative areas where the proportion of the minority exceeds 20%, officials are obliged to be able to use the minority language. However, this is not always realized. Practical issues, such as shortcomings in Hungarian terminology, prevent people from using Hungarian in administrative issues even when the law would permit it (Gál 2010: 170, 180). Romanian laws grant minorities the right to maintain and develop their language and culture, and this includes minority language education. The formulation of the laws are, however, considered imprecise in detail and permit rather than guarantee certain rights (ibid. 175, 177). In practice, the opportunity to access Hungarian-medium instruction depends on one's place of residence and the desired field and level of study. The attitudes of parents towards Hungarian education vary. Many fear that it will become an extra burden for children, disadvantaging them when compared to those who have received their education in the majority language (ibid. 180). Hungarian-medium vocational training and higher education is available only in a few fields and its quality has been subject to criticism (ibid. 170). A key actor for the Hungarians in political life is the ethnic-political party RMDSZ (*Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség*, 'Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania'), which was founded after the change of regime (Bárdi 2011a: 525, Márton 2007: 42).

Hungarian linguistic cultural heritage and the existence of neighboring Hungary, where Hungarian is a fully functional state language, plays an important role in how Transylvanian Hungarians perceive themselves and their language. This is a major difference to the Karelians and Veps. In the socialist time in Hungary, Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries were generally a taboo. However, due to Romania's political tensions with the Soviet Union, Hungary took more liberties in criticizing the Romanian assimilative policy (Romsics 2005: 516). After the change of regime the Hungarian minorities have been considered an important national issue by Hungarian governments, regardless of which political parties they represent (Márton 2007: 41, Bárdi 2011b). An example of the change in policies is the change in the nationality law that made it possible for foreign citizens with Hungarian ancestry to obtain Hungarian citizenship (Nationality Law). Various foundations have been created with the help state funds to provide the Hungarian diaspora with financial support (Mák 2000). Investments include the Hungarian Sapientia University¹⁰ in Transylvania and the transnational television channel Duna.¹¹ The support system has drawn criticism because of its connection with party politics, its complexity and its lack of transparency (Bárdi 2003, 2004: 254–257).

¹⁰ www.sapientia.ro (17.2.2018).

¹¹ www.mediaklikk.hu/duna/ (17.2.2018).

All Hungarian speakers in Transylvania will sooner or later encounter the Romanian language. They either receive their school education in Romanian or learn it as a subject. The majority of them will need it in their working life or free time. In many contexts the roles of these two languages seem quite separate. Studies show that while Hungarians in Romania perceive Romanian as having significant social value (i.e. usefulness in society), its cultural prestige is low, that is, they do not identify with Romanian. In contrast, the social prestige of Hungarian is low, whereas its cultural prestige is high (Fazakas & Both 2013: 458). However, in a comparative survey among university students in Hungarian minority contexts, Romanian Hungarian students clearly had more negative attitudes toward the majority language than students did in other countries (Fenyvesi 2011). In his study on the multilingual Banat region, Laihonon (2009: 9) attributes the juxtaposition of languages to the elite, who in their writings construct a “languages in competition” situation, while laymen claim that multilingualism is a normal and neutral, or even positive, phenomenon. The bilingualism is unsymmetrical, because Romanian speakers usually do not know Hungarian (Gál 2010: 170).

In general, the Hungarian linguistic culture may be regarded as monocentric and normative, in which only one codified language variety is considered suitable for public use. This is reflected in the low esteem of dialects and spoken language. However, a local standard of spoken language has been identified which differentiates itself both from the dialects and from the Hungary-based standard and contains elements from Romanian (Fazakas & Both 2013: 457–458).

According to a comparative study (Fenyvesi 2011), Romanian Hungarian students value the (Hungary-based) standard more than local varieties yet give the local variety more “solidarity points,” denoting identification with the local language varieties. The results were similar among Hungarians in Slovakia and Serbia. Laihonon (2009: 41) in his study on the Banat area, confirms the negative evaluation of local varieties and the high prestige of the standard. In one of my field interviews (Tánczos 15.3.2017), three Hungarian-speaking university students from Kolozsvár discussed the use of dialects. In their opinion, using dialect in Kolozsvár would be considered amusing and the speaker would be deemed a simpleton or at least uneducated. Yet many Transylvanian Hungarians do not have a sufficient command of Standard Hungarian to be able to use it fluently (Fazakas & Both 2013: 458).

Set against this language ideological background, for many locals multilingualism means practically parallel monolingualism, in which the languages have separate spheres of use (see Heller 1999). The need for the knowledge of Romanian is usually not disputed. Already in the 1930s a central figure in Transylvanian Hungarian cultural life, poet Jenő Dsida, stated that besides a perfect command of Hungarian one should also know Romanian, and know it properly (Fazakas 2014a: 196–197). In fact, one could deduce that the complicated relation many Hungarian-speakers seem to have to the

Romanian language originates from this idealization of the standard, which does not leave room for imperfect language use. Many Hungarian speakers have not had access to adequate Romanian language teaching (Romanian has, for instance, been taught as a native language rather than as L2), and therefore feel incompetent in the state language (Gál 2010: 178).

Attitudes towards multilingualism are not negative or complicated per se. For instance, knowledge of English is valued very highly (Fenyvesi 2011). This is also in line with the ideologies Fazakas (2014b) has detected in 1930s newspaper texts: learning foreign languages for the purpose of work and business had been supported already then.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the latter half of the 20th century, issues of language and society came to the foreground in linguistics. They were approached through language ideology studies and critical discourse studies, both of which concentrated originally in North America (Kroskrity 2010). The two approaches share the focus on power and social inequality, and they are incorporated in the articles in this thesis. In this chapter, I provide an overview of critical discourse analysis as an approach and of language ideologies and linguistic identity as major topics of interest.

My thesis represents qualitative research and approaches language as communication. It combines critical discourse analysis and content analysis, the focus shifting between implicit and explicit meanings. However, the main approach is critical discourse analysis, which is introduced in section 3.1.

3.1. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS AN APPROACH

Discourse is where the interaction between language and the outside world takes place. It is often used as an intuitive concept and has been defined and redefined several times, leading to some vagueness about the notion. The essential meaning in these definitions has nevertheless remained the same: discourse does not just refer to sequences of speech or text expressing a certain content, it should also be understood as a social practice that forms the object of which it speaks. Discourse constitutes situations, social identities and relationships between people. It may be perceived as action and process, but also a recurrent, conventionalized and distinguishable practice of presenting something may be classified as “a discourse” (Schiffrin et al. 2015: 1, Wodak 2014: 302–303, Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 25), which Fairclough (2001: 123) describes as “representations of social life which are inherently positioned.”

Critical discourse analysis studies social phenomena, and due to their complexity a multidisciplinary approach is required. Critical discourse analysis is located in the intersection of linguistics and social studies. *Critical* refers to a critical investigation and assessment of these phenomena (Wodak 2014: 302). The linguistic analysis of a text is not sufficient in order to answer the questions typically posed in CDA. The analysis must account for its cognitive, social, cultural, or historical contexts as well (van Dijk 1991: 110–111). Context in critical discourse analysis actually refers to several levels of context, ranging from textual and intertextual context to societal or even global context (Wodak 2008: 12–13).

Critical discourse analysis has its roots in the critical view on society promulgated by the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, which started in the

1930s (van Dijk 2015: 466). This critical approach came to linguistics mainly through the work of Roger Fowler (see Fowler et al. 1979), whose critical linguistic research aimed at uncovering implicit ideologies. There is only a thin line between critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis, and the two seem to be occasionally used interchangeably. Also, the term critical discourse studies is used instead of critical discourse analysis (van Dijk 2015: 466).

Critical discourse analysis is embedded in the critical and in the constructivist paradigm, where reality is understood as constructed and shaped by social, political and other values (Guba & Lincoln 1994: 109–112). Language is seen as a social practice that shapes our understanding of reality. By analyzing the linguistic choices that every language user inevitably makes, we are able to shed light on social phenomena, such as power, control and ideologies. These ideas were made known by M. A. K. Halliday, who stressed the multifaceted nature and multiple functions of language and developed the approach of *systemic functional linguistics*. He suggested three universal macro-functions of language, namely the ideational (representing the world, making meanings through language), the interpersonal (constituting relationships between people) and the textual function (constituting textual coherence) (Halliday 1973/2003: 311–317). Halliday pointed out the significance of the choices made by a speaker, and the significance and contextual dependence of choices, inclusions and omissions (Halliday 1985: xxvii, Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 14). These ideas have been inherent in later CDA.

Halliday's principles were further elaborated on by Norman Fairclough, who pointed to the social nature of language and brought identities and representations to the fore (Fairclough 2001: 123). He also put much effort into making the social theories of CDA and its practical dimensions known to the public (Wodak 2001: 6–7). The systemic functional approach has also served as the starting point for Theo van Leeuwen, who is perhaps best known for his *social actors model*, which focuses on the social actors in discourses and their semantic roles (van Leeuwen 2008: 23–24). I have applied the model in article 3.

Media texts have been under critical scrutiny since the 1970s (Fowler et al. 1979, Fowler 1991), but Teun A. van Dijk, who was a central figure in the development of critical discourse analysis at the turn of the 1980s, turned the focus of CDA even more intensely on media texts (e.g. van Dijk 1988, 1991, Wodak 2014: 303). He claimed a salient role for news in our discursive surroundings and the possibilities CDA opens up in media research:

Discourse analysis emphasizes the obvious, but as yet not fully explored fact that media messages are specific types of text and talk. The theories and methods of the new interdisciplinary field of discourse analysis may be brought to bear in a more systematic and explicit account of the structures of media messages. Since discourse analysis is a multi-disciplinary enterprise, it is also able to relate this structural account to

various properties of the cognitive and sociocultural context. (van Dijk 1991: 108)

Another reputed CDA scholar is Ruth Wodak, whose studies of the discourse(s) of political debates and identity politics have stressed interdisciplinarity and tied CDA even more closely to the social sciences. She has stressed the significance of empirical research and ethnography. Wodak and van Dijk have also emphasized the practical applications of CDA, such as developing better or fairer practices of speaking and writing (Kendall 2007).

Key issues that have drawn the attention of CDA researchers are power relations in society, particularly power abuse, as well as ideologies maintaining and legitimating these relations. In discourse they may be present on the level of inclusion and exclusion of information. They have been approached e.g. through the analysis of agency in discourse. Identity has also been a salient point of interest, often approached through representations (Wodak 2014: 306). I have addressed these issues in articles 1 and 2. The notions of ideology and identity are elaborated on in sections 3.3. and 3.4.

In Finland, several linguists and social scientists have applied critical linguistics or critical discourse analysis in their diverse studies. Among well-known scholars are Vesa Heikkinen (e.g. 1999 on ideologies in editorials), Sari Pietikäinen (2003 on media representations of the Sámi, 2012 on language ideologies and multilingualism), Anne Mäntynen (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009), Jyrki Kalliokoski (1996, on ideologies in news texts), Reetta Toivanen (e.g. 2001 on Sámi and Sorbian identity construction, 2007 on minority rights discourse), and Sanna Valkonen (2009, on discourses building ethnic Sáminess).

Much of the critical discourse analytic research on minority–majority relations has studied the representations of minorities in majority media around the world. Studies on minority language media are not equally common. So far, studies on Finno-Ugrian minority languages using CDA as their approach have been rather scarce. The approach has been applied, among others, by Sari Pietikäinen (e.g. 2008), Pietikäinen with Hannele Dufva (2006), Florian Hiß (2008) and Mari Keränen (2009) in Sámi studies, on South Estonian by Kadri Koreinik (2011a, 2011b), on Mari by Tatyana Efremova (2014), on Veps by Ulriikka Puura and myself (2016), Erzya/Moksha by Jorma Luutonen (2011), and on Karelian by Anneli Sarhimaa (2008) and myself (2017). Representations of the minority (language) and discourses on the role of the minority language have been central issues in these studies.

In my research, Van Dijk and Wodak have provided an example of how to apply critical discourse analysis when addressing large and complicated issues, such as language maintenance and identity construction. In recent years, CDA research has integrated new methodologies, combining more traditional data sets such as newspapers with the use of ethnography, focus groups, and narrative interviews (Wodak 2014: 310). I have attempted versatility and contrastivity in my thesis. Accordingly, I have needed to make

a choice whether to perform in-depth qualitative analysis on smaller units or to attempt a macro-level overview of larger data. The choice is naturally directed by the research questions. During my thesis process, I have worked with several texts and often my focus has been on their overall characteristics, but when relevant, I have taken the analysis to the micro level (for example, in article 4 I focus on agency). Although multimodality is an emerging line of study in CDA (Wodak 2014: 309), due to my training as a linguist I have chosen to restrict my focus to language. However, an analysis of the multimodal totality of these minority language newspapers would certainly fill a gap in research.

Discourse is full of selection, namings and categorizations that are merely incomplete reflections of the diversity of reality. For example, in the prevailing interpretations of the world we tend to prefer clearly definable groups in which the national language, ethnic identity and territoriality are closely entwined. This hinders our understanding of situations where this may not be the case. Issues of language, ethnos and identity tend to be much more complicated when we take a closer look at them. Therefore, the stereotypical view we have of the connection between language, ethnicity and identity needs to be reformed. In this thesis I introduce examples of how categories such as “Karelian” or “Hungarian” are reconstructed in discourse.

3.2. KEY CONCEPTS

Many of the concepts of minority discourse are essentialized and we tend to think of them as stable natural categories. These include *minority*, *nation*, *ethnic group*, *native language*, *language*, *culture* and many others. One should bear in mind that these are notions we operate with and that help us discuss the issues at hand, but at the same time they are simplifications and abstractions that erase diversity and variation. One of my points of interest is precisely the use and semantic scope of these concepts in discourse.

By *minority language* in this study I mean a language that has fewer rights than the main language of the society. By main language I mean the one that has the most rights and use in the society. In my contexts (Russia and Romania), this coincides with the largest number of speakers, making *majority language* a suitable expression and counterpart for *minority language*. *Minority media* denotes media produced at least partly by members of a minority for the minority. In this study, I focus on *minority language media*.

For the speakers of a minority language I use the term *language minority* or *language community*. I am familiar with the critique of these terms, namely that in many cases the speakers do not have the social connection with each other or even the knowledge of each other that would be a prerequisite for forming a community. However, in my usage *language community* also refers to a potential or imaginary community. *Language minority* is the equivalent

of ‘those who speak a minority language’ as defined in a societal or legislative context.

The question of the nature of *language* is present throughout this study. Language can be defined in a multitude of ways, but I put stress on language as a social construction, something we (re)define in social interaction and practices. However, the essentializing view of language as a stable entity is strongly present in how language is represented in my data. *Native language* is a concept that certainly has different meanings in different contexts and also in different languages, and for their speakers. The Karelian *muamankieli*, Veps *mamankel* ‘mother tongue’ and *rodni kel* ‘heritage / native language’ refer more often than not to a heritage language that is not necessarily the person’s first or most fluent language, but a language that was spoken by her ancestors and that has some affectional value for her. In the Hungarian usage of *anyanyelv* ‘mother tongue’, these meanings usually coincide. However, in Irina Culic’s (2001: 236) study, as a condition for someone to be considered Hungarian, the condition “[his/her] mother tongue is Hungarian” was expected in 82.5% of cases, whereas “to speak the Hungarian language within the family” was expected in only 25.5% of cases. In my view, this hints at giving more significance to language heritage than the actual language behavior.

Usually, *multilingualism* is used to refer to the public use of several languages in the society, whereas *plurilingualism* refers to “an ability of individuals to communicate in more than one language” (Extra & Barni 2008: 5). *Languaging* reflects a different approach to the exploitation of linguistic resources. It highlights the change in linguistic networks brought about by globalization. These changes are reflected in the diversity of individuals’ linguistic repertoires, when “bits of language” acquired from different sources are used to produce a mutually intelligible code (see e.g. Blommaert 2010: 8). In this thesis I mainly use the term *multilingualism*, because I focus on the societal role and understanding of knowing and using several languages.

3.3. LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Language ideologies are a central object of investigation in CDA. They are ideas, or sets of beliefs, about language as a system, language use, linguistic differences, the situation of language communities and the relationship between languages (Gal 2002, Lanstyák 2011). Language ideologies relate to politics and they serve to legitimize linguistic power structures (Gal 2002: 197–198). In the broadest sense, all metalinguistic reflection and views on language can be considered language ideologies (Lanstyák 2011: 15–16). One could approach language ideologies with such questions as what does language (or language variety) mean to its speakers/non-speakers, what do people do with a certain language, how and why do they evaluate languages and their speakers?

Language ideologies are embedded in the culture. They are produced in interaction through language and they influence the way the members of that particular community think about language. They also affect language and language use, and therefore language ideologies are extremely interesting to those interested in language maintenance or revitalization. They shape language policies as well as the behavior of individuals (Mäntynen et al. 2012: 328). They are not about language only, for in the background there are the interests of different groups, and ideologies create and maintain societal power structures. As these ideologies are often implicit, they can be discovered in discourse around languages: in everyday talk, political resolutions, media texts, etc. (see Lanstyák 2011: 16–17). Language ideologies may be discerned and named (often in different ‘isms,’ such as linguistic conservatism, liberalism, nationalism, etc.). This identification of ideologies is usually based on the researcher’s knowledge of her object of study, and therefore ideologies that look very similar may carry different names in different studies and contexts.

Many language ideologies are present in society in a naturalized form that does not require explaining or overt legitimation, but is more or less taken for granted (Mäntynen et al. 2012: 333). For example, in today’s Europe, knowing several languages is generally considered a positive thing and does not require any explanations as long as these languages are among the well-known and powerful languages of the region. Language is understood as a tool that may benefit us, like learning English may help us while travelling or in our job. This kind of understanding of language sets minority languages aside, because knowing minority languages usually does not provide similar benefits as knowing a large state language or perhaps an international language. Therefore, knowing a minority language is not something one would expect from the majority, but it is seen instead as “another kind of language,” a marker of ethnicity and as such closely connected with the minority, and with ethnicity and identity (Laakso 2014: 41–43). CDA researchers typically aim at revealing these kinds of everyday beliefs, “neutral” ideologies that occupy an unchallenged position (Wodak 2014: 306). Research is indispensable for revealing how these language ideologies affect language policies and minority rights (for a Swedish case study, cf. Wingstedt 1998).

In Europe, languages are (and have been for centuries) usually understood as bounded systems that differ clearly from each other and are connected to a certain ethnos or nation. These assumptions of the nature of language exclude the *de facto* complicity and diversity of languages and therefore can be considered an ideology (Gal 2006: 14–16).

This thesis investigates language ideologies in the public discourse minority media, the stated goal of which is the maintenance of the minority language (see article 6). These ideologies are analyzed through different data, newspaper texts, metalinguistic interviews as well as linguistic behavior in group interviews (cf. Mäntynen et al. 2012: 333–334). The aim is to identify ideologies and discuss their role in directing the maintenance process and the

space the languages occupy in the society. The description of the general sociolinguistic situation of Karelian, Veps and Hungarian in Transylvania in section 2.2. contains a short background on prevailing language ideologies.

Besides discourse analysis, I have approached language ideologies through an analysis of multilingual interaction (article 5), namely code-switching and reactions to it (for a recent study on the topic, see Lantto 2015). Code-switching (CS) “refers to the use of several languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people” (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 4). It is interpreted as important in creating groups and, moreover, reactions to code-switching define norms of language use and reflect the language ideological atmosphere. CS is often regarded as a negative phenomenon by the speakers (and in the past by researchers as well), but it may also function as an index of a hybrid identity or membership of a particular group, and attitudes towards CS require further research (ibid. 81–82, Lantto 2015: 24). Gardner-Chloros (ibid. 82) argues that “In order to get a picture of people’s spontaneous reactions [to CS], one should look at contexts where speakers are in no way insecure about their language use, where they do not feel their language to be threatened and, at the same time, where they are not taught or indoctrinated to believe in “purity” as a linguistic ideal.” Yet she admits that finding such a context might prove impossible. However, I find it both intriguing and well worth researching how CS is reacted to in a context that is presumably governed by purist language ideologies.

3.4. LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

In this chapter, I discuss identity as a social construction, as a sense of belonging to groups, and the role languages play in constructing and defining identities. When I speak of “Karelian identity” or “Hungarian identity” in this thesis I am not trying to pin down the identification(s) of individuals but rather referring to another level of abstraction, the level of identity-making and representations of Karelianness, Hungarianness, and so forth.

Scholars today understand identity as something that is not essential but as something that is changing and actively produced in discourse (Wodak et al. 2009: 3–4). However, despite the agency of individuals in forming their identities (which can be several and overlapping), due to the social nature of identities some of them are imposed on individuals by others. Therefore, the idea of identity-making should pay attention to processes originating both from the inside and the outside (Kroskrity 1999: 113). In addition, the previous ideas of separate and unchanging identities are still widely known, and especially state-language-speaking monolingual monoethnic individuals may be unconscious of the diversity in ethno-linguistic identity.

Paul Kroskrity (1999) puts great stress on language in defining identity. For him, identity is above all “the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories,” albeit he admits the existence of important

non-linguistic criteria (ibid. 111). He lists national, ethnic, racial, class, professional, and gender identities as forming the typology of identities. Shared (or presupposedly shared) language has played a major role in representing common identity. Despite nation states, minority groups also construct distinctive ethnic identities with the use of linguistic symbols or communicative practices that differ from those of other groups (ibid. 111–112). Identity is constructed in relation to something else, the Other (Hall 1997: 234, 238), while language is an easily manifested instrument of distinction. Koreinik (2005: 61) argues that even in situations characterized by language shift, in which the majority language is increasingly becoming the language of communication, the minority language may remain a leading criterion of collective identity.

Languages, particularly the use of standardized languages and engaging in literacy activities, have played a major role in creating national identities (Kroskrity 1999:111, Anderson 1983). Media use is part of the process of socialization into communities and the development of collective identities in general (Moring 2017: 33–34), and as a widespread form of literacy it has been a central actor in creating and propagating national identities. Reflecting the uniform national identity, the national media has typically been monolingual. Multilingualism has been present in the media in the form of parallel monolingualism, i.e. monolingual media in minority languages. Simultaneously, they have offered a model of language use fit for public appearance: monolingual, standard language (Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen 2013: 2–3, Vihman & Barkhoff 2013).

The concept of *community* is closely connected to belonging to groups. According to Anderson (1983: 6), a genuine community is one where all its members know each other. If they do not, such a community is an *imagined community*. Such imagined communities are, for example, nations. Their construction and the maintenance of such communities does not originate from interpersonal connections like it does in smaller, genuine communities, such as small villages. Instead, they are social constructions, the existence of which is based on discourses and traditions (ibid. 6–7, de Cillia et al. 1999: 153). In this study my main focus is on the discourses that create and strengthen the Hungarian, Karelian and Veps communities and shared identities.

It has been argued (Sarhimaa 2000: 199–201) that the ethnic or national identity of the Karelians is not very solid, and it is based rather on locality, mainly villages, rather than on any other factor. The whole idea of Karelians as a people is relatively new, originating from the 19th century era of nation-building, as explained by Sarhimaa (2008: 122):

The Karelian ethnos, or the Karelian people, most obviously is a highly ideological construct which ultimately was created, or “imagined”, by Finns in the euphoria of their own nation-building, and only became of some importance to Karelians themselves during the period of the Perestroika.

Although the role of language is not stressed in these descriptions, it seems to play a role at least for the young who have Karelian ancestry. They regard not knowing the language as an obstacle to Karelian ethnic identity (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 57).

According to Grenoble (2003: 38), constructing and classifying identities was a fundamental part of the creation process of the Soviet Union in the 1920s. Ethnic identity was thus superimposed onto people who had previously had a sense of belonging based on language and/or religion. However, in its peripheral position between two carefully constructed larger nationalities (Russian and Finnish), the Karelian identity remained local and ambivalent, as there were no structures for it to grow on (Sarhimaa 2008: 115). It is claimed that the nationalist policies of Russians and Finns as well as the supranationalist policies of the Soviet Union that hindered the emergence of national identity among Karelians (and Veps) also prevented the development of these languages (ibid. 102, 112–113). In fact, the Russian political atmosphere even today does not offer minorities space beyond their traditional localities, and the cultural programs aiming at preserving minority cultures only take place on a local scale (Prina 2016: 226).

One of the points of interest in this study is the possible development of supra-local identities, such as described by Seurujärvi-Kari (2012: 150) on the Sámi, who “feel a strong sense of togetherness and emphasize their uniqueness.” Seurujärvi-Kari describes the overlapping identity-building processes among the Sámi, where some attempt to keep the Sámi identity “fixed in a certain form” and bound to a certain place, although simultaneously the emerging Neo-Sáminess allows for movement “between places and identities with ease” and renders it possible to identify as a member of more than one nation (ibid. 148–149). However, current Russian identity politics are strongly state-directed (Zamyatin forthcoming: 4) and do not support the emergence of large and solid imagined communities.

Veps identity, moreover, is also in the process of creation and consolidation. The Veps have traditionally used multiple ways of defining collective identity, as there has not been a single ethnonym that would have been used in a uniform way throughout the language area. Local concepts, such as ‘speak our language’ or ‘local,’ ‘people from here’ are also characteristic of certain Veps areas (Grünthal 2015: 29–33, Puura et al. 2013: 29). For the Veps, language is the most visible marker of identity (Puura et al. 2013: 52).

Tom Moring (2014, 2017) has illustrated the scale of linguistic identities and their connection with monolingualism and bilingualism with a model of four different types or combinations of linguistic profile and ethnolinguistic identity (Table 2). For example, a monolingual Hungarian speaker with a Hungarian core identity would belong to type I, and a Romanian–Hungarian bilingual person, for whom Hungarian is a complementary identity to some other (for example Romanian) identity, would belong to type IV. Naturally, the borders between monolingualism and bilingualism (or plurilingualism), not to speak of identities, are inexact and difficult to define, but as a generalization

the model functions well to illustrate characteristics of the language communities in this study.

Table 2 *Types of ethnolinguistic identity (Moring 2014: 13, 2017: 36)*

	Monolingual	Bilingual
Ethnolinguistic identity		
Core identity	I minority language	II minority + majority languages
Complementary identity	III majority language	IV majority + minority languages

For the Hungarians of Transylvania, the Hungarian language has been a key marker and bearer of identity since 1920 when they became a minority (Fazakas 2014b: 357–358). Hungarian speakers in Romania may well be represented in all cells of the table: there are monolingual speakers (albeit few) although bilinguals with varying dominance form the great majority (Horváth 2005: 178–179). In her article on Romanian and Hungarian identity-making, Irina Culic (2001: 230) describes the early socialization of a child born into a Hungarian family in Transylvania:

Hungarians from Transylvania acquire their first framework of identification within the symbolic space of a Hungarian family. Their world is constituted by relations and references centered on Hungarian cultural elements: language, celebrations, traditions, religious rituals, legends, myths, stories, and specific costume.

Among Karelian and Veps speakers there are practically no monolinguals (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 53, Puura et al. 2013: 10). Therefore, they may be located only in groups II and IV, and since studies on Karelian and Veps identities point to vague ethnic or national identity, the majority of Veps and Karelian speakers are likely to be placed in group IV, the heritage language functioning as a complement to Russian and Karelian or Veps identity complementing other identity or identities.

Magyari (2003: 189) claims that the Hungarians in Transylvania “maintain a strong sense of Hungarian national identity, language and customs.” This description hints at a distinct Hungarian core identity. The view is supported by Culic (2001: 230). According to her, for a Romanian Hungarian the Romanians represent the Other that is needed for the creation of Hungarian identity, further strengthened by contact to Hungary (which she names the

“homeland”). Diaspora Hungarians form a part of the Hungary-led project of shared Hungarian identity construction (Bárdi 2004: 254).

So far, the relationship of Karelian identity to other identities has not been defined, particularly with regard to Russian identity. A sharp contrast between Karelian and Russian identity is denied by mixed social networks, which often do not distinguish between Karelians and Russians as they used to do one hundred years ago (cf. Sarhimaa 1999). There are hints that suggest that a sharp distinction is not made in the Veps context, e.g. in Veps media discourse the categories “Veps” and “Russian” are not mutually exclusive, but overlap with fuzzy borders (Puura forthcoming).

4. DATA

I have used data triangulation in the form of data from media texts as well as semi-structured interviews to gain a broader insight on the topic. The interviews were made to acquire data on the thoughts and attitudes of language activists and journalists, providing a point of comparison with the media texts, and finally, in the interviews with the editors-in-chief, to enter into direct dialogue with those involved. I have complemented my primary data with the studies of other researchers in the fields of media and discourse studies, language sociology, law, etc. Applying data from different sources is an attempt to comply with the multidimensional nature of the discursive construction of identities (de Cillia et al. 1999: 170).

I find that media data provide an interesting opportunity for the analysis of language ideologies. According to Mautner (2008: 32), print media and especially newspapers reflect the social mainstream and carry dominant discourses. In the case of minority newspapers, we obviously cannot talk of the mainstream of the larger society, but rather the “minority mainstream” in the context of the minority community, although these may overlap. Media products typically convey the standard and are used as a tool in language development. Moring states (2017: 33–34) that “language use in the media is seen as normative, which affects language maintenance and construction.” Also in identity-making (see section 3.4.) the media provide intriguing data on public discourses that add to the forming of identities (Mautner 2008: 32).

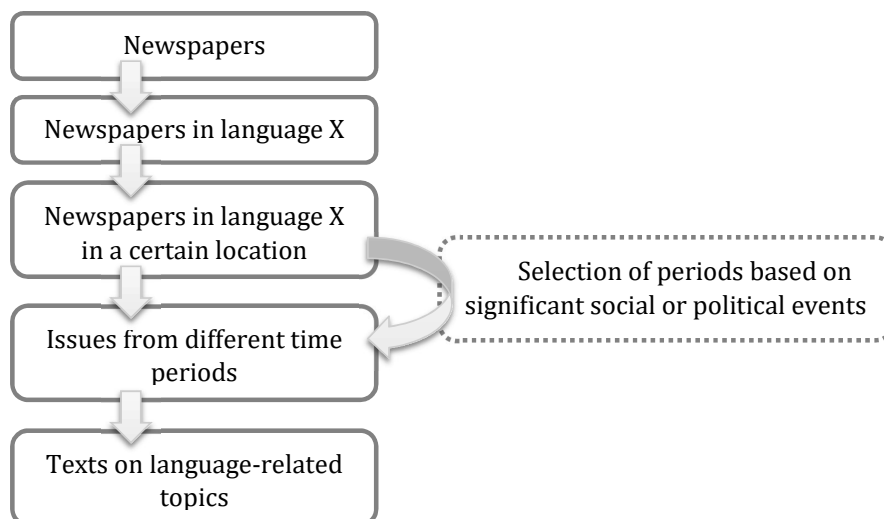
4.1. COLLECTION AND SELECTION OF DATA

In recent years, media studies have taken a significant turn towards analyzing the growing new media. Perhaps slightly against the tide, I have chosen traditional print media as my data. This is due to poor availability of Karelian and Veps new media. Even traditional electronic media (television and radio) in Karelian and Veps are scarce (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 91–92, 168, Puura et al. 2013: 37–38). Print media has a longer tradition and more regular availability, which makes it an interesting object of study. In Transylvania Hungarian electronic media are available, but the local newspaper has traditionally had the largest and more stable market (Magyari 2003). In addition, the comparison was more balanced between media of the same type, i.e. traditional printed newspapers.

My newspaper data originates mainly from Karelian *Oma Mua* ‘Own land’ and Romanian Hungarian *Szabadság* ‘Freedom,’ which I introduce in section 4.2. The data includes newspaper texts from different years ranging from 1998 to 2011. The aim of selecting material from a longer time period was to pay attention to possible changes taking place in content and discourses. I have on

many occasions referred to the Veps *Kodima* ‘Homeland’ as well, and material from it was used in article 3. For article 2 I also used the Russian local newspapers *Karel’skaja Gubernija* and *Kur’er Karelii* as well as *Vienan Karjala* published in Karelian Proper. *Vienan Karjala* was later merged with *Oma Mua*. Article 1 also draws from the analysis of *Udmurt Duńne* ‘Udmurt world’ material that I had used for my master’s thesis (Pynnönen 2009). The selection of data is illustrated in Figure 3 (based on Mautner 2008).

Figure 3 Selection of data



The interview data include interviews with the editors-in-chief of the newspapers introduced above, *Oma Mua*, *Kodima* and *Szabadság*. I conducted them in 2016 in Petrozavodsk together with fellow researcher Ulriikka Puura and in 2017 in Kolozsvár. In addition, I have analyzed Karelian sociolinguistic interviews from the ELDIA project, in which I was involved in 2010–2011. I did not conduct the interviews myself, but I had an opportunity to use them. These were focus group interviews, with participants of different ages and occupations, who were all active speakers (Karjalainen et al. 2013).

Newspaper material is public and as such openly accessible for research purposes. The material is identified in the articles. As for ethical issues concerning interview material, the editors-in-chief took part in the interviews in their official role and with their actual name. Their interviews are stored in the University of Helsinki for my and Ulriikka Puura’s personal use. The ELDIA interview material is archived in Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz and is accessible to researchers with permission (www.eldia-project.org). The participants are anonymized.

I learned to know my data through several cycles of close reading and listening. First I performed a cycle of open coding on the whole data set, examining, conceptualizing and defining the main themes in the newspaper

texts and interviews. After that, on the basis of this analysis I closed in on certain issues that varied among different articles. For example, in article 1 I focused on the characterization of ethnicity terms in newspaper texts, while in article 5 I looked for situations in the interview data where code-switching was reacted to in some way. I have provided examples from the data in the articles, but due to space constraints only for the purpose of illustrating my findings. The analysis itself is naturally based on a larger amount of data than can be presented to the reader. The validity of the study is therefore not linked with the number of examples presented in the articles (although occasionally a greater number could possibly increase transparency) but with the justification of the interpretation.

4.2. MINORITY LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER DATA

The Karelian *Oma Mua*, the Veps *Kodima* and the Romanian Hungarian *Szabadság* are all minority language newspapers that were established at the turn of the 1980s. In the following, I attempt to introduce these publications (see Table 3 for basic information) and also point out the most significant differences between them and their context.

Table 3 Basic information on *Oma Mua*, *Kodima* and *Szabadság*

Oma Mua, founded in 1990	Kodima, founded in 1993	Szabadság, founded in 1989
Periodika publishing, Petrozavodsk	Periodika publishing, Petrozavodsk	Minerva association, Kolozsvár
Bilingual (Olonets Karelian and White Sea Karelian)	Bilingual (Veps and Russian)	Monolingual (Hungarian)
Weekly, 12 pages, circulation 500	Monthly, 8 pages, circulation 600	Daily, 8-16 pages, circulation 10 000
omamua.ru	kodima.rkperiodika.ru	szabadsag.ro

4.2.1. OMA MUA AND KODIMA

Oma Mua and *Kodima* were founded in the early 1990s as a part of the linguistic and cultural revival of Karelian and Veps languages in the Republic of Karelia (see 2.2.1). They were initiated by Karelians and Veps, and published by the state-owned Periodika publishing house, which also publishes in Finnish. Their role in spreading the new standard languages has been considerable. Because they receive their funding from the state (Rjamenen 2007: 66), they cannot be considered independent. However, the activity of *Oma Mua* in the 1990s was deemed to represent Karelian culture, and not just the authorities (Pietiläinen 2002: 189).

The activity of these papers is small-scale. *Oma Mua* was published twice a month until 2011, and after that weekly. At the same time its number of pages was raised from four to eight. *Kodima* is published once a month with eight pages, of which half are in Veps, half in Russian. The editorial office of the papers is in Petrozavodsk. *Oma Mua* is mostly read in the surrounding Olonets Karelian-speaking areas (Filippova 2005: 93). *Kodima* is distributed in the Republic but also in the surrounding areas (Puura et al 2013: 11). *Kodima* has a circulation of 600 copies and *Oma Mua* of 500 copies.¹²

On the homepage of *Kodima*¹³ its contents are described as including issues on Veps culture and politics. Every issue of the paper is to include articles which support Veps language and culture. *Oma Mua* describes itself on its VKontakte site¹⁴ in the following way:

Paiči lehten perusfunksiedu – olla tiijon lähtenny, “Omal Mual” on yhteiskunnallis-opastukselline rouli. Sen pahuos, ku karjala hätken aigua ei kehitynnyh, oli kiellos, karjalan kiele ei tävvy, sanommo, yhteiskunnallis-poliittisty sanastuo. Kaikil Oma Mua -lehtes ruadajat toimittajil on kielelline opastus da hyö toiči iče keksitäh uuzii sanoi.

Besides its core function (to be a source of information), *Oma Mua* has a societal-educational role. Because the Karelian language did not develop for a while, as it was forbidden, there is no, let's say, Karelian sociopolitical vocabulary. All the journalists in *Oma Mua* have a philological training and sometimes they create new words themselves.

Oma Mua promises information on social, economic and political issues of the Republic, Karelian history, culture and traditions, as well as Karelian teaching in schools. According to studies, the focus of the papers is on cultural, language and local issues such as festivals, but they also contain news from Russia, fiction and children's material (Tánczos 2017, Puura et al. 2013: 38). They pay attention to Finno-Ugric, especially Finnic, connections and in *Kodima* the indigenous context is occasionally brought up (Puura forthcoming).

In Russia, the role of mass media in challenging government politics remains small, as the traditional mass media companies are significantly dependent on the current political power and oligarchs (Naoumova et al. 2012). Therefore, it may be assumed that political challenge is not what is primarily expected from state-funded ethnic minority media in Russia, although in studies on ethnic minority media “providing an alternative voice” is seen as one its main functions (see article 6).

Kodima and *Oma Mua* are important arenas for language development, as they belong to the few domains where Veps and Karelian are used in public life. In the ELDIA survey, *Kodima* was the most significant Veps media product for the respondents and was read by 61.4% of them. In the surveys the

¹² <http://kodima.rkperiodika.ru/istorii/>, http://omamua.ru/ob_izdanii/ (31.1.2018).

¹³ <http://kodima.rkperiodika.ru/istorii/> (31.1.2018).

¹⁴ <https://vk.com/omamua> (9.2.2018).

most frequent readers originated from the oldest and the youngest group of respondents. In my view, the frequent readers among the young are connected with Veps language education (students, university students) (Puura et al. 2013: 167). There are people of all ages among the readers of *Oma Mua*, although the elderly are more frequent readers (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 169).

4.2.2. SZABADSÁG

Szabadság ('Freedom') is a daily newspaper that has its office in Kolozsvár. Among the numerous Hungarian local newspapers in Transylvania, *Szabadság* was chosen as data because of its location in Kolozsvár, a city with important Hungarian institutions. In this respect, it can be paired with the Petrozavodsk-based *Oma Mua* and *Kodima*. It was founded in December 1989, partially by journalists of the former Hungarian-language communist newspaper *Igazság* ('Truth'). It is published every weekday and on Saturdays. Its circulation is approximately 10,000 copies, and it is read mostly in the city and the surrounding localities. It is published by the Minerva Association that was founded in the early 1990s to support and develop Hungarian language and culture. The financing of *Szabadság* is based on subscriptions, advertisement sales and support from Hungarian and Romanian cultural foundations.¹⁵ The content consists of local news and the most important national and occasionally international news, cultural events, advertisements and sports news. Sport is given a relatively large amount of space, often 2–3 pages of the total 8–12 pages.

The versatility and the long history of Hungarian media in Transylvania make the media situation very different from the Russian minority context. In Transylvania, a complete Hungarian-speaking media system is in place, ranging from children's magazines to literature reviews. It is mostly regional, with local radio stations and local newspapers. According to Magyari (2003: 190), these local newspapers have a small format and are often the only local newspaper in their respective region.

According to Vincze (2009), language politics and rights are only rarely present in the Transylvanian Hungarian local press. Their focus is primarily ethnic and local (2003: 191). In recent years, the problem of attracting new readers has become a plight for traditional printed media in Romania. Especially daily papers (not only Hungarian, but also Romanian) have suffered from a loss of readers.¹⁵

¹⁵ Ildikó Újvári in interview, 15.3.2017, Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca).

5. CENTRAL RESULTS

In this chapter, I present and interpret the results of the articles in a thematic order that deviates slightly from the order of publication. The reason for this organization is the idea that representations of language influence the allocation of responsibility, and therefore the articles (including article 5) on language representations are discussed before the topic of responsibility. The discussion is organized around the following themes:

(1) Representations and identity construction (chapter 5.1.). This section covers articles 1 and 2 and mainly targets research questions 1 and 3 (how is language represented, what implication does this have for language revitalization?).

(2) Language change and ideologies (chapter 5.2.). This section covers article 5 and centers around research questions 1 and 3.

(3) Responsibility for the language (chapter 5.3.). This section covers articles 3 and 4 and targets research questions 2 and 3 (who is responsible for the language, what implication does this have for language revitalization?).

(4) Role of minority language media (chapter 5.4.). This section covers article 6. It targets all three research questions from a different angle through interviews with the editors-in-chief.

5.1. REPRESENTATIONS AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Articles 1 and 2 of this study address the issue of representations of the minority language and what kinds of roles the language is given in the media. These representations are significant in the construction of linguistic identity.

Article 1: A kisebbségi nyelvi identitás kifejezései orosz-karjalai, udmurt és erdélyi magyar újságokban

Tánczos, Outi 2014: A kisebbségi nyelvi identitás kifejezései orosz-karjalai, udmurt és erdélyi magyar újságokban. [Expressions of minority linguistic identity in Russian Karelian, Udmurt and Transylvanian Hungarian newspapers.] – Mária Lada'nyi & Zsuzsa Vlada'r & Éva Hrenek (eds.), *Nyelv, társadalom, kultúra: interkultúrális és multikultúrális perspektívák* I-II.: A XXIII. Magyar Alkalmazott Nyelvészeti Kongresszus (ELTE BTK Budapest, 2013. március 26–28.) előadásaiból készült tanulmánykötet. Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó. 625–630.

Article 1 was the first to be published and it outlines the key questions and aims of my research concerning minority language media. It contrasts findings from three minority language newspapers, the Transylvanian Hungarian *Szabadság*, the Karelian *Oma Mua* and the Udmurt *Udmurt duńne*, being the

only article in this thesis with Udmurt data. *Szabadság* differs clearly in terms of content from the two newspapers published in Russia. The difference is explained by historical and present-day sociolinguistic and language political contexts. The representations of the minority language differ significantly. In *Szabadság* the Hungarian language receives little attention per se. It is brought up only occasionally and in connection with opportunities for language use in society: education, language rights, and so forth. *Udmurt duńńe* and *Oma Mua* approach language more from the perspective of individuals and their relationship to the language.

I interpret these findings to mean that the Hungarian language is important and meaningful for Transylvanian Hungarians and it plays a role in identity construction, but mainly in terms of language use and the possibility of “living in Hungarian.” The focus of *Oma Mua* and *Udmurt duńńe* on the language itself as an entity hints at the need to increase its status by stressing its aesthetic and emotional value. Apparently, languages are key factors in constructing ethnic identity. This is in line with findings on the Sámi, where language has been claimed as a “*condicio sine qua non* to the continuous construction of Sáminess” (Markelin & Husband & Moring 2013: 105).

The article takes a critical tone towards representing Karelian and Udmurt languages as being strongly connected to tradition with only a few attempts made to claim new domains of use. The criticism was grounded in the ideals of minority media promoting minority rights. However, the article would have benefitted from providing a more detailed analysis of the societal context and the expected audience in deciding upon the relevance of certain topics.

Article 2: Representations of Karelians and the Karelian language in Karelian and Russian local newspapers

Tánczos, Outi 2015: Representations of Karelians and the Karelian language in Karelian and Russian local newspapers. – *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 6 (1): 91–110.

Article 2 analyzes the representations of the Karelian language and being Karelian in *Oma Mua* and in two majority language local newspapers, *Karel'skaja Gubernija* and *Kur'er Karelii* in the Republic of Karelia. It reflects on the effects that these representations may have on the maintenance and revitalization efforts of Karelian. The central question was whether the special needs of the minority were recognized and highlighted in the newspapers. The article has its roots in the ELDIA media analysis of Karelian in Russia (see Karjalainen et al. 2013).

The Karelian newspapers and the Russian local newspapers analyzed do not differ considerably in representing Karelians and the Karelian language. The representation of Karelians in the Russian majority local newspapers conforms to the general official representation of Karelians. The newspapers take a positive tone. Issues of language maintenance are generally not dealt with in detail.

The differences between Karelian and Russian newspaper texts are that in the Russian newspapers texts dealing with Karelians and the Karelian language are scarce. Karelians are represented through institutions rather than individuals, which is typical of the depiction of ethnic minorities in majority media. This tendency underlines the image of a homogenous community and conceals the diversity of the Karelian community, such as the instability of a common ethnic identity and the lack of a common standard language. It suggests a homogenous and stable group that does not participate in society dynamics but seems to exist in a space of its own.

In the Karelian data other local nationalities than Karelians are only seldom mentioned, although co-operation and connection with Finland appear frequently. It seems that the primary strategy of constructing Karelian identity is not by contrasting with other nationalities, but by stressing their unique features, above all the language. Naturally the existence of a non-Karelian outgroup, even if not named, can be deduced from the appearance of we-constructions referring to a Karelian in-group. This use of “we” leads to images of a unified community, not unlike the image conveyed in the Russian language data.

The Karelian and Russian newspapers are relatively similar in their focus, but while in the Karelian language media the content centers around Karelian culture and language, the Russian papers address the Karelians mostly in news concerning the activities of Karelian cultural organizations. In the Karelian minority language data the content and focus have changed over time. The issues from 1998 contained more pronounced views on language and minority politics than the later issues. They also contained more letters from readers, which basically is a way of balancing the top-down structure of newsmaking.

Summary of articles 1 and 2 with special reference to Q1 (“How is language represented?”)

The key issue in articles 1 and 2 was the construction of ethnic identity and the role of language in minority language media texts. As discussed in sections 2.2.1. and 3.4., the construction and consolidation process of Karelian ethnic identity began in earnest in the 1990s, and the media has participated in this work from the beginning. Article 1 took a comparative view of three language minorities and focused on the representations of languages in the newspapers. Article 2 focused on the Karelian context and the comparison was between local minority and majority language media texts.

To sum up some basic differences in the content of the analyzed newspapers, their names are exemplifying and can be interpreted as clues of their intended role. *Szabadság* (‘Freedom’) may refer to the overall societal change at end of the Ceaușescu era, but also to the anticipated greater freedom for minorities. The name has indisputable societal reference, and the analysis of its contents reveals that it does pay attention to minority rights issues, albeit not particularly actively. *Oma Mua* (‘Own land’), *Kodima* (‘Homeland’)

bear strong local reference and have an affectionate tone, whereas *Udmurt duńne* ('Udmurt world') suggests a distinct Udmurt worldview or universe.

The choices made in the writing and publishing process are important: what are the topics covered, from which angle, who is interviewed, what kinds of authorities are referred to? These choices, inclusions and exclusions, shape the reader's idea about the language and ethnic identity. In the Karelian case, the representations created in majority and minority language media are not very different. The newspapers seem to reproduce the official discourses from the institutional sphere, albeit with a slightly different emphasis. In the typical discourse the language of a minority is not a matter of course, an instrument or a skill, but as Johanna Laakso (2014: 43) puts it, a "birthmark." This means that it is regarded as a characteristic of someone belonging to an ethnic group. In the case of Transylvanian Hungarians this characteristic, however, is represented as dependent on the state, its language policy and the society. Therefore, language rights receive attention. In the Karelian data the language is essentialized as a part of ethnic identity, and this has no clear connection with what is happening in the society. The same image is repeated in the majority language media. Karelianness is represented as a stable entity with no change or development. The Karelian language and culture are unseparated components of this undefined Karelianness. The language is needed as a component of minority ethnic identity because of its distinctive role. This need is accentuated in the Karelian case, because today there are very few other distinguishing features between Karelians and other traditional ethnicities of the region.

These two articles were the first to be written, and they represent the phase of adopting the chosen paradigm with its aims and limitations. Here and there I have made attempts to provide generalizations and quantifications in order to describe the object of study better. However, qualitative analysis does not produce quantitative information (cf. Guba & Lincoln 1994), and therefore my analysis would benefit from a complementary study employing quantitative methods.

5.2. LANGUAGE CHANGE AND IDEOLOGIES

In this chapter, I discuss the findings of article 5, which focused specifically on language attitudes and ideologies. The topic is connected with Research question 1 on how languages are represented, especially from the point of view of their nature (stable or changing, in need of development or developing independently, and so forth). Language ideologies are naturally present in all discourses of my data and they are touched upon in several articles besides the one presented here.

Article 5: Multilingual practices and speaker attitudes: The case of Olonets Karelian.

Tánczos, Outi (In press 2018): Multilingual practices and speaker attitudes: The case of Olonets Karelian. – Outi Tánczos & Magdolna Kovács & Ulriikka Puura (eds.), *Multilingual practices in Finno-Ugric communities*. Uralica Helsingiensia 13. Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society. 297–326.

Article 5 examines the interplay of individual plurilingualism, societal multilingualism and language ideologies in the case of Olonets Karelian. Due to its long history of Russian language contact and the diglossic situation of language minorities in Russia today, Karelian language use is characterized by code-switching. The paper investigates speaker attitudes concerning the use of several languages in one discourse in discussions on the Karelian language situation. Code-switching is studied as a social phenomenon that defines groups and may act as an indicator of group identity. Simultaneously, the study aims at identifying underlying language ideologies. The data of this article differ from the other articles in that they contain no media material. The article consists of five sociolinguistic group interviews that were made in the ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) project.

In my interpretation, the norms governing use of languages are being negotiated in the interviews. The findings suggest that today the monolingual norm is gaining ground among the young speakers of Karelian, most of whom encounter the language in academic surroundings or in language-orientated work. They seem to prefer a language variety that does not contain many Russian loanwords or code-switching. This hints that the language is receiving a new role in the construction of Karelian identity. It should be noted that the youngest speakers are often late bilinguals and for some the institutional learning has been the only way to learn Karelian. The conventions of the institutional framework probably further stress the monolingual norm.

Since language is seen as a constituent of ethnicity, as argued in section 5.1., its change is acceptable only as a controlled process, namely language development. Uncontrolled change is undesirable and is often connected with asymmetrical power relations and threat from the majority language. A similar tendency has been observed among other minority language communities (cf. e.g. Edygarova 2014, 2016), in which the public space is reserved for the standard variety.

5.3. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LANGUAGE

In a revitalization context, the sharing of responsibility, in terms of what can and should be expected of whom, become central. The answers to these questions in part define the revitalization policies. An examination of these discourses is needed, because a bias in the representation of responsibility may

lead to distortion in the perception of the possibilities of the revitalization process. This issue is addressed in particular in articles 3 and 4. It is also discussed in article 2, which is presented in section 5.1.

Article 3: Division of responsibility in Karelian and Veps language revitalization discourse

Puura, Ulriikka & Tánčzos, Outi 2016: Division of responsibility in Karelian and Veps language revitalization discourse. – Reetta Toivanen & Janne Saarikivi (eds.), *Linguistic genocide or superdiversity? New and old language diversities*. Bristol; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters. 299–325.

This article examines how responsibility for minority language maintenance is represented in Karelian and Veps minority media texts and sociolinguistic interview data. Responsibility and power relations between social actors, such as who is obliged to act for language maintenance, make an important topic for research and is relevant for the analysis of revitalization processes. In this article, media data is contrasted with sociolinguistic focus group interviews from the ELDIA project. The aim is to find out whether discourses on language maintenance, most of all on the role the state and speakers have played in it, differed in the two data sets. A key question is whether there are naturalized ways of representing responsibility for language maintenance.

Discourses were identified on the basis of recurrence and interpreted in their sociolinguistic context. The discourses concerning minority language maintenance and the roles of the minority and the state contain no surprises, and the discourses in the different data sets are similar. The state is represented as non-supportive of the language, and the demands to act are directed towards the minority. The state as a passive hindrance to language revitalization has been naturalized in the discourse. However, the state is represented as having actively affected the languages negatively in the past. Thus, the potential role of the state in actively influencing the status of the language is acknowledged, but this fades from the discourse when the present is concerned. The majority society is nearly absent in the discourse, creating a closed space for the Karelian and Veps languages.

An aversion to conflict is characteristic. It appears that in the minority language newspapers, the amount and concreteness of criticism depends on the individual journalist. Thus, it is more likely that the conventions of minority news writing govern the tone of the texts rather than any official guidelines.

The article was co-authored with Ulriikka Puura. I was responsible for incorporating the discourse analytic perspective and Ulriikka Puura for providing the sociolinguistic knowledge on Veps in particular. I took primary responsibility for the analysis of media texts and Ulriikka Puura for the interview data. The co-authoring brought in knowledge on two contexts and the incorporation of several data sets provided a larger perspective that could be elaborated in even more detail in a larger study.

Article 4: Active and backgrounded agency concerning language maintenance in Karelian minority media texts.

Tánczos, Outi 2017: Active and backgrounded agency concerning language maintenance in Karelian minority media texts. – *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 24: 233–258.

The aim of article 4 is to examine how the current state of the Karelian-language and language revitalization efforts are presented in the *Oma Mua* newspaper. Karelians as a vulnerable linguistic minority would need support from the majority society, but it is not certain that these needs are acknowledged by the majority, or even by the minority itself. I examine how these needs are made visible and pay attention to what kinds of agency can be found in discourses on teaching and learning Karelian.

The analysis shows that the outside (state, republic, authorities) has often been backgrounded from the texts. This seems to occur especially when the action of authorities is criticized. The state is not urged to take action for the Karelians, whereas the Karelians are.

I interpret the use of impersonal structures and of quotes in the data as a means of addressing language political issues and simultaneously refraining from overt political commenting. The tendency to use quotes has been noted by Shklier & Toulouze (2001:101) in the Udmurt press in the 1990s. On these grounds we may deduce that quotes and interviews have been applied as a strategy of conveying delicate views (on quoting practices in the media cf. Haapanen 2017).

Summary of articles 3 and 4 with special reference to Q2 “Who is responsible for the language?”

Together, articles 3 and 4 attempt to answer research questions 2 and 3, the representations of responsibility for the language and their implications for the revitalization process. It seems that the composition in which the Karelians are presented as language keepers and their work the main, if not sole, support for the language, has been naturalized in the discourse. This harmonizes with the findings presented above, namely the view of the minority language as an essential feature of Karelian culture and ethnicity. Because the language is positioned as inside the minority community rather than inside the larger society, its development is seen as naturally belonging to the minority itself. Russian legislation and the consequent language policy are characterized by linguistic tolerance rather than linguistic promotion (Arzoz 2007, McGonagle et al. 2003). This policy seems to infiltrate the minority language media discourse, where not many expectations or much responsibility are allocated to the state in the present or in the future. Kunnas (2007: 64) has also noted the permissive yet not actively supporting language policy in the Republic of Karelia. In her opinion, the lack of official status and passing the responsibility to the minority alone can be considered an indirect way of contributing to minority language death (ibid.).

This biased allocation of responsibility in the discourses may have negative consequences: if the authorities are presented as outsiders or irrelevant actors in the revitalization process, this view may become naturalized and unchallenged, while a more active contribution of the state or the republic could actually significantly improve the sociolinguistic situation of minority languages.

Because the minority community has been left with the responsibility, it first of all needs to exist as a functioning community with common goals. Small dispersed local communities are not sufficient for this task. A stronger translocal community that is capable of communicating with one voice with those in power is constructed in media discourses.

5.4. ROLE OF MINORITY LANGUAGE MEDIA

Article 6: Vähemmistökielisten sanomalehtien tehtäviä niiden päätoimittajien kuvaamina

Tánczos, Outi (submitted): Vähemmistökielisten sanomalehtien tehtäviä niiden päätoimittajien kuvaamina [Functions of minority language newspapers as described by their editors-in-chief]. – Pekka Suutari (ed.), *Karjalankieliset rajalla*.

Article 6 investigates the views of editors-in-chief of Karelian, Veps and Transylvanian Hungarian newspapers on the role their newspaper plays in the language community. The data of this article consist of individual thematic interviews with the editors-in-chief. I contrast their views with the functions suggested for ethnic minority media by earlier research. The views are placed in the corresponding sociolinguistic context. Special attention is paid to the language ideologies conveyed in the discourses.

The editor-in-chief of *Szabadság* presented a view of the newspaper as a community organ and a provider of information, also as an alternative perspective on issues concerning the ethnic and/or local community. In his analysis of the Transylvanian Hungarian media Magyari (2003: 191) finds the ethnic and local focus problematic: “The problem is that being a Hungarian and living an everyday life as a Hungarian in Romania is not newsworthy, and as a result the media fails to attract new readers.” This criticism originates from the ideals of majority media, namely that the primary task of a newspaper is to inform and to convey significant news. Editors-in-chief of the Karelian *Oma Mua* and the Veps *Kodima*, on the other hand, regard it as a central task of an ethnic minority newspaper to convey such material and views that cannot be found in majority media. The editor-in-chief of the Veps *Kodima* stressed community, yet from a slightly different angle, referring to the existence of a genuine community in which people may encounter stories about their neighbors in the newspaper. The editor-in-chief of *Oma Mua* took a slightly different position, concentrating on the role of the paper in language development.

The weight the editor-in-chief laid on defining a distinct task for the newspaper was a distinctive feature. An example of a particularly distinct policy was be found in the Karelian *Oma Mua*. The editor-in-chief Natalia Sinitskaja has systematically emphasized language development in the paper. This is in line with her own expertise. It is also likely that this line has been found to be well suited to purpose in a context that does not support rights discourse. Suzanne Romaine (2007: 122) has stressed the importance of setting realistic priorities in language revitalization, which typically suffers from a lack of resources. Romaine's argument refers to the revitalization situation as a whole (ibid.), but we can assume it holds true in subprojects as well.

The role of language is implicitly present in the fact that minority media exist and are considered necessary. Their existence is strongly connected with ethnic identity. This view has been attested in numerous minority contexts. Thus, for example, Sámi journalists have deemed the language a central part of what they do, namely supporting Sámi identity and justifying the existence of indigenous media (Markelin & Husband & Moring 2013: 109). The focus on language can also be interpreted as reflecting the idea that language products (quality texts on relevant issues) increase the desire to use language (cf. Grin 2003: 43–44). The interviews with the editors-in-chief of newspapers show that they regard the language as a system (with the focus on standardization, neologisms, and the avoidance of certain elements) rather than as a social practice. This is slightly surprising, because in the context of an endangered language one might expect a focus on language use as social action in the society.

An emerging theme was the importance of resources and the operational environment, which were described as challenging. Lack of journalistic training is common and therefore the work is often learnt by doing and from colleagues. In my view, this may support the transmission of a minority newspaper model, in which new journalists adopt the local conventions without evaluation. Assumptions of readers' interests are central in deciding which topics to cover and how, but opportunities for reader surveys are scarce.

5.5. SUMMARY

In the articles presented above, I worked with three types of data from several languages, contrasting newspapers with two different kinds of interview data. This combination provided a general view on discourses concerning minority language maintenance. I summarize my findings in this section.

On newspaper data, the findings show that *Szabadság* differs most from the other minority language newspapers. The ones published in Russia have much in common, which points to the influence of the shared Russian context. Prina (2016: 213) describes the prevailing national political rhetoric in Russia as simplistic, “revolving around inter-ethnic tolerance and cultural

development.” My findings in articles 2, 3 and 4 seem to confirm that this rhetoric is also used in minority language media as well as in majority media in Russia. Minority issues are largely absent from the Russian political sphere, and are only brought up in connection with cultural issues. Political structures effectively prevent minority representation through party politics (ibid. 208). As Federica Prina (ibid. 207) concludes: “ethnic institutions continue to operate, as they did in the Soviet period, through apolitical means, remaining confined to cultural (and symbolic) policies. The ineffectiveness of systems of participation means that minorities remain disempowered, unable to affect circumstances that influence patterns of diversity and assimilation.”

The focus on language as part of culture and the limiting of the discourse mostly to include only the language community has been described in my articles on Russian minority languages. The small amount of detailed information on the sociolinguistic status quo provided by the media can be connected to insufficient ideological clarification, as has been pointed out by Pasanen (2015: 45), also with reference to Karelian and Veps. Such clarification would be indispensable for language revitalization, Pasanen (ibid.) argues.

The Karelian language newspaper *Oma Mua* is clearly an actor in the process of identity making. This process has its limitations in the newspaper. One of these is the relatively little attention given to language rights and the position the Karelian language occupies in the larger society. The Karelian language media contains little reference to the world outside of the Republic and the international minority framework. Most probably, this is connected with the nationality policy of the Republic of Karelia and of the Russian Federation. In article 2, I described the policy of *Oma Mua* as “positive passiveness,” referring to the positive tone of language-related news and the absence of realistic information on language shift and ways of countering it. Although I would now choose a less provocative term, it seems to come close to the term “benign neglect” that Federica Prina (2016: 226) uses to describe the policy of the Russian authorities in minority issues. Prina (ibid. 202) states that in Russia there has long been a tendency to manage minorities top-down. Prina (ibid. 203) also points out that in Russia the organs tasked with minority issues are often state organs, and many minority representatives are also government officials. Therefore, it is possible that they are at least as many representatives of the state as they are of the minority. Moreover, a great share of ethnic minority media has a double role as a representative of the minority and of the state, since they receive their funding from the state and are published by state-owned publishing houses.

The Hungarian data suggest the continuation of the linguistic nationalism that can be traced back to the 19th century and that was sustained as an undercurrent in the Ceaușescu era along with ethnic nationalism (cf. Verdery 1993). As a consistent and naturalized ideology it has most probably played a role in the maintenance of Hungarian language and culture. Thus far, a Hungarian identifying as a Hungarian speaker seems to be a matter of course

in *Szabadság*. Multilingualism takes the form of diglossia or parallel monolingualism. This monoethnic and monolingual view is compatible with the expectations and conventions of the surrounding society. Presumably, this is the representation of the minority that is also more easily comprehensible and acceptable for the majority, and this is reflected in the Romanian legislation and in international minority and language rights policies. An example of adapting to this framework is how the Csángós were defined for the Council of Europe report, the goal of which being to support the Csángós' access to language rights. The ethnolinguistic identity of the Csángós is complex and does not correspond to the modern idea of a national identity (cf. Laihonen & Kovács & Snellman 2015). Therefore, in the report they were described as a “non-homogenous group,” but their religion and their language were stressed as key components constructing uniform Csángóness: “Csangos speak an early form of Hungarian,” despite the fact that numerous people who may identify as Csángó on the basis of their religion are actually monolingual in the majority language. The ancient origin of Csángós is mentioned several times, supporting their claim to language rights (Isohookana-Asunmaa & Tánzos 2015). This phenomenon has been noted by Toivanen (2007), who addresses the problem of linguistic rights frameworks that presuppose homogenous and static groups and ignore linguistic variation. Therefore, many language activists choose a strategy of constructing a representation of a unified language (often the standard) that may function as proof of the existence of the language. Since this relationship to language, dictated by monolingual ideologies, is the key to language rights, multilingualism and especially the fact that many speakers are more fluent in the majority language than the minority language may prove problematic for minority language activists, who are compelled to follow the notion of unity between a nation and a language (Toivanen 2007: 101–104).

The Karelian data suggest the application of the same model of nation or ethnos-making, or as Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes (2012: 195) formulate it, “the modernist project of constructing a coherent homogeneous nation linked to the concept of territoriality and linguistic purity.” The application of this model might prove increasingly problematic due to flexible and overlapping identities, and the federational politics and the zeitgeist that strive for unity rather than the consolidation of non-Russian nations. The model draws on the ideologies of the standardized national language that occupies a place in parallel monolingualism. While the approach may have value in the society, it is dissonant with a sociolinguistic status quo that is characterized by great diversity and multilingual practices. Interestingly, the Veps *Kodima* provides content in two languages, Veps and Russian. One way of seeing this newspaper is that it aims to include those who identify as Veps, yet lack Veps language skills, either due to illiteracy in Veps or to language shift. This is interesting, because it proposes the option of being Veps without speaking Veps. Another view on this is that *Kodima* acknowledges the plurilingualism of its readers and signifies a possible way of using Veps and Russian simultaneously in one

domain, challenging the borders of language realms (cf. Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen 2013: 3–4).

The close tie between language and traditional culture has its benefits when representing the language and proving its value both to the inside and to the outside, but one could ask whether issues of identity and ethnicity must always be brought to the foreground when the intention is to revitalize a language. This close connection of language and culture is typical in minority language instruction, examples ranging from the Karelians to the Csángós in Romania (Laihonen & Kovács & Snellman 2015). The traditional culture may provide an arena and a reason for using the minority language. This connection has its weaknesses, nevertheless. The strong connection of language and culture keeps the language within the language community, only available to “those involved,” which may hinder that language from gaining recognition and support from the outgroup (see Pasanen 2015 for a detailed study on an inclusive language community). It has also been stated that a strong focus on language as a part of traditional culture is not sufficient if the aim is to support language transmission, especially when compared with (pre-school) education (Gál 2010: 175).

6. CONCLUSION

Cottle (2000: 28) points out that changing representations, changing cultures of identity, and changing contexts of production as areas of research are indispensable for an understanding of the complex interaction between media and ethnic minorities. In my studies, I have attempted to shed light on these issues by analyzing certain European minority languages. During my doctoral project other studies have been published which propose a similar line of thought (Laakso et al. 2016, Toivanen & Saarikivi 2016). My study is a case study which provides insight into the discourses on language maintenance conveyed by the minority media, and the process of community-building and identity construction. It forms a synthesis of earlier research and complements it by comparing the different roles of minority language media and addressing the particular issue of language representations.

It can be argued that the social role of the Karelian language has shifted from a straightforward instrument of communication to a symbol of ethnic community, a factor of distinctive ethnic identity, and a means of national policy (cf. also Koreinik 2005). Representing Karelian as a unified language with public literacy serves to legitimize the language and the community around it in an environment with a hegemonic nationalistic language ideology. A point in common with the well-documented processes that took place in the development of nations and national languages in the 19th century is evident (cf. e.g. Lavery 2006: 58–61 for an overview of the Fennoman movement in Finland). Many minority languages provide an opportunity to observe these processes in the intersection of modernism and postmodernism (cf. Blommaert et al. 2012).

The findings of my research harmonize with results of other recent research (e.g. Laakso et al. 2016, Toivanen & Saarikivi 2016). The Finno-Ugric minority media in Russia which I have analyzed seem to follow a “language-and-culture” or even a “**language-as-culture**” model of minority language media, in which the focus is on preserving the language per se and as part of traditional cultural capital. The model of the Transylvanian Hungarian *Szabadság* could be named a “**language-as-acting**” model. It has parallels in e.g. Finland Swedish or Nordic Sámi media, despite the considerable differences between these cases. Consequently, the role of languages in these newspapers is different. In the analyzed minority media in Russia, the value of language legitimizes the existence of the minority language media. In Transylvania, it is considered on a par with other ethnic and cultural institutions that are based on the social activity of the minority as well as their space in the society. Presumably, the minority language media in Russia require more active legitimizing due to their state funding, the relatively small number of speakers, the exhaustive bilingualism and the tradition of using mainly or only Russian in the public sphere.

The similarities of findings on Karelian, Veps and Udmurt media hint at the existence of a shared framework of minority language media in Russia. It can also be assumed that the Transylvanian Hungarian media draw not only from the literary and social traditions of the Hungarians but to a great extent from international frameworking, especially with Hungary. It is also likely that the common European minority policies affect the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. In previous research, Transylvanian Hungarian media have also been mainly compared to other minorities in the European Union, based on the shared framework.

On the basis of my analysis I claim that minority language media indeed play a role in language maintenance, but the societal context directs their dimensions to a great extent. They may serve as a guardian of language rights. This guardian-role is traditionally allocated to quality journalism in the majority context as well, and if minority media do not live up to these expectations, they are deemed to be malfunctioning or insufficient. Sometimes the societal context influences the media far more than the media might influence the society. However, in a situation where language rights discussion is not supported, minority language media may fulfil other functions in identity and community building. It may also develop strategies of implying things between the lines.

Minority language media provide an intriguing type of authentic data that can be used to study a number of sociolinguistic issues. One must bear in mind, however, that it is material that originates from an institutional framework and cannot be interpreted as reflecting the views of the “language community.” It can be used merely for studying the permissible public discourse.

When working with a larger number of texts, the researcher is forced to make choices regarding which features to include and which not. The exclusion of certain aspects involves the risk of cherry-picking, for which CDA has been criticized. This leaves the researcher with considerable responsibility. The answer of CDA scholars to this is that one should have sufficient knowledge of the context, based on which the researcher is able to assess the relevance of individual features. Transparency in describing the working process is also important. I have paid attention to these issues, but describing the process of assessing and drawing on previous knowledge and experience has proved more difficult than expected.

The question that made me start this doctoral project was the impact of media discourses on revitalization processes (research question 3). I have returned to this question several times, but I still cannot provide an answer that does not contain “might,” “presumably,” and so forth. The research of public discourses alone does not provide sufficient information on the background policies and practices that regulate the space given to discourses, nor on the reaction the discourses encounter. I hope that my studies will be complemented by further research on these topics.

A central principle of critical discourse analysis is to create awareness in how certain needs and interests of agents are hidden from view or mitigated

(Wodak 2001: 10). Therefore it is essential that the findings of any research are available to those concerned. I hope that the electronic publication of this thesis will render it accessible to all those interested in this topic.

Although I aimed at improving the reliability of the research by choosing data from a longer time period, this principle was somewhat diluted by the relatively long time (5–7 years) between the publishing of the most recent newspaper data and the publication of articles. On this account, the thesis cannot say anything about the present situation or about possible new development concerning discourses.

To complement the shortcomings stated above, in future research it would be important to address the readers in reception studies. Readers are not passive recipients (Wodak 2001: 6), for the content reaches its final form and significance only when received and interpreted by the reader. A natural direction of further research would also be the position and role the digital media are taking. For a more exhaustive comparison, it would also be valuable to include a minority language inside the European Union, a language without a Soviet legacy and with a relatively new literacy, for example North Sámi.

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